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THE STINGING REPORT of the League of Nations Mandates Commission upon British responsibility for the Palestine riots of 1929 has drawn an almost equally sharp reply from Arthur Henderson as British Foreign Secretary. Mr. Henderson concedes the inadequacy of the protective force that was established by his government, but in a tu quoque he vigorously defends his country from the charge that it could have foreseen the troubles: Why did not the Mandates Commission also foresee it? Mr. Henderson scores, too, when he points out that the Mandates Commission rejected many of the findings of the Shaw Commission in favor of unverified ex parte statements. But most mortifying for the British to answer is the charge that England failed in her mandatory capacity to advance adequately the social and economic welfare of Palestine and thus to improve the relations between Arabs and Jews—a charge it deeply resents, and naturally. A stiff dose that, especially in view of the fact that the report of the Mandates Commission bears the approving signature of the British member of the commission, Lord Lugard!

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS statesmen will have plenty to talk about at their forthcoming meeting notwithstanding that the meeting of the Council, which precedes that of the Assembly, was postponed for a few days in the hope that more items might be placed on the agenda. The Briand scheme of a European union is expected to figure prominently in the discussions—directly if Great Britain succeeds in enforcing its request for consideration of the matter by the Assembly, indirectly if M. Briand is able to hold to his original purpose of having the plan considered in an informal meeting of League delegates. Then there is the question of treaty revision and Franco-German relations generally, regarding which French political opinion is reported to be much worked up. It seems more than doubtful, however, whether anything practical will come out of the parleys. It is hardly likely that Germany, which thus far has only the inferential support of Italy in calling for a revision of the peace treaties, will attempt to steal a march on France by bringing up the question unexpectedly, although France fears that something of the kind may happen; while as for a European union, the latest reports from Paris are that the French Cabinet has intimated to M. Briand that it will be well, under the circumstances, not to press that issue too hard. If Germany really intends to agitate openly for treaty revision, discussion of a European union of which Germany must be a member would probably seem to the French rather inopportune.

THE IMPERIAL CONFERENCE which is to meet at London at the end of September promises to be almost exclusively an economic conclave. With the exception of a rather perfunctory reference to imperial defense, and a mention of certain constitutional questions such as the operation of dominion legislation and the settlement of inter-imperial disputes, nearly all of the subjects listed in the preliminary agenda which Mr. MacDonald has given out are of an economic character. Prominent in the list are imperial capital investments and the establishment of branch industries, "the effect of successive tariff changes and the extent and effect of inter-imperial tariff preferences," trade cartels, overseas settlement, and transport and communication. Interest in the tariff issue has been greatly stimulated, since the publication of the agenda, by the intimation that a 10 per cent tariff on imports into the United Kingdom may be proposed "for revenue purposes," and by the recent action of New Zealand in ending the preferential duties on Canadian automobiles, engines, and tires in retaliation for Canada's increase in the duty on New Zealand butter to four cents a pound. The one disturbing political issue is the demand of Premier Hertzog of South Africa for a formal declaration by the conference of the right of a dominion to secede. There seems no reason to believe, as yet at least, that Mr. Hertzog is planning to lead South Africa out of the empire, but he is determined to extract from the conference, if he can, an affirmation of the constitutional right to withdraw. The mere suggestion is well calculated to give British imperialism a jolt.

POOR TEAMWORK at Washington again! On August 21, just at the outset of the Congressional campaign, certain misguided Treasury officials let it be known that, in view of the falling off in revenues, hope of

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continuing the 1 per cent cut in the income tax voted last December had been practically abandoned. For some strange reason the President was reported as being disturbed at the publication of such "premature" predictions, and after a series of conferences on the following day he gave out a statement saying that "there is no ground now for the predictions in the press this morning," while Secretary Mellon valiantly proclaimed "a very real hope" that the tax cut would stay. We pointed out last December that, whatever might be said for the tax reduction on political or "psychological" grounds, it had no fiscal justification. During the fiscal year up to August 15 treasury revenues were $54,000,000 below last year's figures, partly owing to decline in customs receipts, and there is already unpleasant talk of financing the Farm Board by loans and using the interest payments of foreign governments for current expenses instead of debt reduction. It is to be hoped that the Treasury in hard times will stand stiffly for sound policies, a thing easy enough to do in prosperous days; but the greatest secretary since Alexander Hamilton has heretofore shown himself not wholly immune to political considerations.

THE SELECTION of Henry P. Fletcher to be chairman of the new Tariff Commission indicates that the President intends at least to put a respectable front on that body. Under his predecessors it reached a depth of degradation unusual even in the sordid history of tariff exaction, and it will be pleasant if the entire personnel of the reorganized body is such as to command a reasonable measure of public confidence. The appointment of Mr. Fletcher is reported as encouraging hope in Europe, but nobody acquainted with tariff history is likely to imagine that the board will be allowed to do anything important in attacking either the iniquities or the imbecilities of the Smoot-Hawley act; and both the absurd theory of the present flexible provision and the treatment of the commission itself during the past ten years are calculated to scare off competent students from accepting membership if the President should happen to offer it to such. The appointment of Mr. Fletcher is, indeed, interpreted as meaning that the President intends to have a commission "like-minded" with himself in order to keep administration of the flexible provision in his own hands. Where then is the separation of the legislative and the executive power? With inquiries into more than a hundred rates ordered by Congress and with the commission already initiating twenty-seven such investigations, the outlook is poor for that perfect business peace which the tariff was to bring.

UNEMPLOYMENT RELIEF grows more pressing. The Census Bureau officially announces its finding of 2,508,151 persons out of a job, able to work, and looking for a job in April—a figure which, of course, does not pretend to represent the total unemployment. In New York a municipal employment bureau, tardily established, was stormed in its first days of operation by 15,000 workless men and women, of whom it could find places for only 685. Under such conditions, Washington still makes no attempt to rouse the country to organized effort. Indeed, Secretary Davis, in announcing the personnel of the President's commission on unemployment statistics, which will meet in October, had the temerity to say he believed a study of statistics would reveal a steady decrease of unemployment. Canada affords a pleasing contrast. Mr. Robertson, Minister of Labor in the new Bennett Government, immediately called for reports from provincial ministries and city authorities estimating the amount of unemployment and the prospects for the winter, in order to get at least some idea of the actual extent of the problem, summoned a meeting of the national Employment Service Council in order to get its advice, and on this basis proposes to formulate a relief program for submission to a special session of Parliament. The possibilities of immediate public action outside the field of actual charitable relief, in a critical unemployment situation like the present one, are unfortunately limited, but the possibilities of public education for better action in future are enormous.

THE SUPREME COURT of Pennsylvania has rendered the only possible decision in the partisan effort to steal from Gifford Pinchot the votes cast for him in Luzerne County during the Republican primary. Because the ballots were all perforated by a machine—as they had been before—the Francis Shunk Brown organization undertook to have them cast out as illegally marked. An unfavorable decision would have robbed Mr. Pinchot of the regular nomination. This verdict makes him indisputably the legal party standard bearer in the battle for the governorship with only a wet Democrat opposing him. That, however, will only increase the efforts to defeat him. The machine's trustiest boys are to be allowed to slip over into the Democratic camp and the wets in the Republican camp are determined to beat him, too. In this year of that great revolt against the Eighteenth Amendment it would never do to have a dry chosen Governor of Pennsylvania for the second time. Yet we have the faith to believe that he will win; some good news must come out of the Keystone State once in a while, and when we look at the Republican candidate for Senator, we are assured that Providence could not possibly seat him and defeat Mr. Pinchot at one and the same time.

THE GASTONIA CONVICTIONS of seven men, some of them Communists, whom a lower court found guilty of second-degree murder, have been sustained on appeal by the North Carolina Supreme Court. Of the more than one hundred exceptions taken by the defense to the rulings of the trial judge, M. V. Barnhill, special interest attached to those which had to do with the political opinions and religious beliefs of some of the accused strikers. The Supreme Court affirmed the propriety of cross-examining Fred E. Beal, Southern organizer of the National Textile Workers' Union, regarding the Communist principles of the strike leaders, and of Mrs. Clarence Miller, wife of another defendant, regarding her own religious beliefs, the cross-examination disclosing that Mrs. Miller was an atheist. If the decision of the State Supreme Court is good law, there would seem to be no limit beyond which a court may not go in examining an accused person or his family, relatives, and friends where public opinion demands a conviction. The sentences imposed by the lower court carry imprisonment for from five to twenty years. The International Labor Defense has asked for a stay of execution of the sentences until October and a new hearing before the North Carolina Supreme Court, and an appeal to the Supreme Court of the United States is also planned.

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BIRTH CONTROL has received a weighty indorsement, albeit a carefully guarded and limited one, from the Lambeth Conference, and Anglican circles in England are busily debating the good or evil that the pronouncement may bring on. The conservative bishops could hardly have been expected to avoid saying, as they did, that birth control must be practiced in accordance with Christian principles, that "motives of selfishness, luxury, or mere convenience" are to be strongly condemned, and that the institution of the family must be scrupulously preserved; but since a good many Christians appear already to have decided that it is quite right not to have children unless they are wanted, neither Anglicans nor Nonconformists are likely to have much difficulty in interpreting the Lambeth pronouncement as conveying all the spiritual approbation they need. The Anglo-Catholics of the Establishment, who are much nearer to Rome than they are to even an episcopal Protestantism, are of course up in arms, and it is reported that their leader, the Rt. Rev. Charles Gore, former Bishop of Oxford and an irreconcilable opponent of birth control, may come out with a formal protest. On other matters the conference does not appear to have registered much progress, and church unity, save for unimportant mergers of sects here or there, seems as remote as ever from practical realization.

NOT SINCE WORD CAME that in the unutterably desolate wastes of the Lena Delta Chief Engineer George W. Melville had found the bodies of Commander DeLong and his lost associates of the Jeannette has as pathetic and stirring a report come out of the Arctic as the news of the finding of Salomon-Auguste Andrée and his two associates. Their balloon voyage was an effort to adapt an imperfectly developed instrument of exploration a full generation ahead of the proper time. As we now know from a letter of Fridtjof Nansen, republished by the New York *Times,* Andrée realized that his quest of the North Pole by balloon was hopeless. He had the courage, he told Nansen, to admit his defeat once; he lacked it to return a second time with nothing accomplished—death was preferable. And so he and his two fellow-voyagers have lain in their Arctic tombs of ice these thirty-three years. The world has moved on; a World War has been fought and lost by all concerned; a new machine of the air has conquered the North Pole, and then the South. Andrée and his men have slept on undisturbed until now. Who knows? May not some new explorer yet reveal the fate of Sir John Franklin and the one hundred and forty-six who sought the Northwest Passage? Even as we write, word comes of two Canadian fliers taking off from Fort Hearne for King William's Land, where these Arctic pioneers are supposed to have perished.

FATE HAS PLAYED no stranger trick of late than that of letting Van Lear Black, the chief owner of the Baltimore *Suns,* fall to his death from the deck of his yacht after he had flown safely more thousands of miles than any other American aviation enthusiast who was not a professional. With little ostentation Mr. Black has flown repeatedly over Europe, Africa, and the Near East. In 1927, for example, he cruised by air from London to Batavia in the Dutch East Indies in fifteen days. In less than six weeks he was back again, having made the round trip of 20,000 miles in 183½ flying hours. In this very year he flew from London to Tokio and then took ship to San Francisco. From there he flew to Baltimore. Once one of his planes was destroyed in Calcutta in a storm. But it is not merely because of his extraordinary and helpful devotion to aviation that Mr. Black deserves commemoration. As we have said before, he was quite the foremost of the group of enlightened men who made possible the Baltimore *Sun* and *Evening Sun.* By no means always in sympathy with the editorial policy of those papers, himself very rich and closely affiliated with the greatest business enterprises in Baltimore and elsewhere, Mr. Black none the less gave a free hand to the editors of his papers, with the result, as we have frequently stated, that they stand in the very forefront of American journalism for intelligence, independence, ability, dignity, honesty, and high journalistic standards. Such papers are so rare in America today that the profession and the public owe a debt of lasting gratitude to Mr. Black and all his associates.

THE UNTIMELY DEATH of Henry Rogers Seager in Kiev on August 23 is a heavy loss to American scholarship and American citizenship. A scholar of catholic tastes, of open mind, of fine scientific temper, and of extraordinarily sound judgment, a teacher of unflagging enthusiasm, a wise counselor and a helpful colleague in all kinds of undertakings both private and public, Professor Seager gave to Columbia University, to New York City, and to the United States a lifetime all too short of devoted and self-forgetting service. Honored by his professional colleagues with the presidency of the American Economic Association, he was constantly called on for advice and aid in important affairs of city, state, and nation. The breadth and depth of his intellectual and practical interests were matched only by the simplicity and friendliness of his character, and thousands of men and women in every part of the country will mourn his death as a distinct personal loss. It was characteristic of the man that his last activity should have been the taking of a party of economists to Russia to make a careful study of the working of the five-year plan. Always he sought the truth, wherever it was to be found, whithersoever it led.

MASS MUSIC PRODUCTION was the dominant note, not to say the leitmotif, of the finale of the recent Chicago Music Festival, sponsored by the Chicago *Tribune* and thirty-eight newspapers of five surrounding States. Elimination contests resulted in the selection of musical champions of every kind, from soprano soloists to saxophone sextets, and on the final evening a nation-wide radio hookup carried to the remotest parts of the country the music of a band of 1,100 pieces, made up of units from all five States, and the strains of the Hallelujah Chorus sung by a massed chorus of 5,000 voices. A Negro chorus of 1,000 voices sang spirituals; a great band played the Anvil Chorus to the accompaniment of forty electrically charged anvils giving off red, white, and blue sparks; field artillery fired salvos over Lake Michigan as part of the 1812 overture; and finally all the bands and the choruses and the audience in the Soldiers Field Stadium, estimated at 100,000 persons, joined in the national anthem (mercifully America and not the Star Spangled Banner). Next morning there was silence.

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Mr. Churchill Runs Amuck

AT its annual gathering at Zurich last week the Second (Socialist) International (not to be confused with the Communist Third) voted its protest against "mad-dog speeches." Well might it, for a few days before, on August 20, Winston Churchill had given voice to one of the worst mad-dog utterances of which we have record. Speaking at the home of the late Lord Curzon at Kent, he declared it certain that Mahatma Gandhi and "a handful of disloyal Indian politicians" would not obtain dominion status in their lifetime, and that the next House of Commons would be less favorable to dominion self-government for India than the present. "It is wiser and safer," said he, "to be blunt and plain, and wrong to encourage false hopes in the minds of the Indian political classes." He added his conviction that the result of a round-table conference would be to make the present confusion worse confounded—"I hope, indeed, it won't be disastrous." After characterizing the leadership of MacDonald as "defeatism in high places which is so rapidly throwing India into chaos," he then accused the MacDonald Government of "trying to breed civil war in Egypt, as one might breed serpents in a zoo."

It would be hard to imagine a speech likely to do more damage. It is the spirit of Lord North and of George III. It embodies the contemptuous self-satisfaction of Lord Cornwallis and Sir Henry Clinton. It is as surely the policy of defeatism as was that of those distinguished generals in North America, and it underestimates the conditions in India as much as the leaders of the British government underestimated the powers of endurance and determination of the American colonies. More than this, this speech explains why it is that while Winston Churchill is admitted even by his bitterest political enemies to be the ablest debater and perhaps the most powerful figure in the House of Commons, no one believes that he can reach the office of Prime Minister, unless there should be complete absence of any other leadership. Certainly his coming to the headship of Great Britain would be a tremendous misfortune for the British people and a menace to the peace of the world. If the policy of blood and iron for India which he advocates in the words we have quoted should prevail, it means that innumerable thousands would perish, and that the British would find themselves shooting down multitudes merely because they refuse to accept the overlordship of the British government at the same value that the Winston Churchill type of Englishman puts upon it.

It is just such an utterance as this, we suppose, that makes Ramsay MacDonald justify himself for withholding as Prime Minister that definite promise of freedom for India which he repeatedly gave prior to his taking office. We can almost hear him say: "You see, if we had taken the extreme position we should have opened the door wide to the Churchills, to the policy of force without stint." To this we should reply that the menace of Churchill is not to be met by compromise and refusal to stand by one's own beliefs and promises, but by clear-cut insistence that right and justice shall prevail in England and likewise in India. If then the British electors should decide that they wished the government to embark on as mad a policy as Churchill suggests, the responsibility would not be upon the Labor Party. Nor would the outcome be uncertain. We have passed that stage of human history when one nation may tyrannize over another merely to obtain some advantage for the nation's pocket. Adam Smith knew the truth about that, for he wrote that "to found a great empire for the sole purpose of raising up a people of customers" is "a project altogether unfit for a nation of shopkeepers, but extremely fit for a nation whose government is influenced by shopkeepers"—or, he might have added, a government influenced by Tories of the Churchill type. Indeed, we have before us the letter of a distinguished British journalist which has just come to hand from London, in which he writes: "We ought to have said to the Indian leaders: 'The political victory is yours; India is to be free; how will you take it?' The quibbling over dominion status, with Lloyd-George and Reading queering Irwin's pitch, has been fatal."

For the battle is lost, and the undeniable fact is that the great government of England in India has gone hat in hand to the silent prisoner in the jail at Poona to ask what he will, and whether through him shall come peace. Only through him can it come. They have isolated him from the world; he may receive no letters and send none. No journalist may go to him, no friend or sympathizer. But his influence upon his people is unshaken. Every bit of unprejudiced evidence that comes out of India shows that British rule is shaken to its very foundations. The Indian cities are even withdrawing their deposits from the British banks. The picketing of cloth shops and drink shops goes on without abatement despite the brutality of the police. British industry totters. Meanwhile on the Peshawar frontier blood flows steadily. No man, outside of a few officials, knows how great is the loss of life, or how many villages have been bombed and destroyed. Even this show of the iron hand does not satisfy Winston Churchill, who feels that the Minister of India, Wedgwood Benn, is "a small man" who, as the problem of India "looms larger and larger, grows smaller and smaller."

What even the Labor leaders do not realize is that if they are not careful they may awake some day to find that, thanks to the Churchills and their fellow-diehards, the hour even for dominion self-government has passed. There was a time during the War of the Revolution when a conciliatory attitude and the readiness to make generous concessions would have saved to England her North American empire. If the Indians are provoked too far they may indeed refuse anything but complete independence. The complete loss of India would be a dreadful blow to England! The blow to her prestige and the effect that that blow would have on her problems in other countries, need not be dwelt upon. That, however, is precisely what the Churchills are courting, and only by a broad and generous attitude and the readiness to make a radical concession can England's prestige in India be saved. Rifles and airplanes will not and cannot do it. The idea that India can hereafter be compelled to be "loyal" to a foreign government is as absurd as it is wicked.

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Hail, Sixty-Four!

SIXTY-FOUR men, we learned one day last week (the day before, it was fifty-nine), rule the United States "by virtue of their ability." The preceding day, we and our British brethren learned something else. Let Great Britain only put a Beaverbrook tariff ring fence around the Empire and "give the forty men [that was the number that day] who rule the United States ten years for the development of this industrial empire and no country on this earth could approach it in per capita wealth." Now, our British friends seem too polite to say it in so many words, but we are not; so we will simply observe concerning Mr. James W. Gerard, to whom we owe all this remarkable information, that his lack of understanding of British economic conditions seems to be matched only by his forwardness in rushing in to tell the British people what tariff policy to adopt. Mr. Gerard's divagations as tail of the Beaverbrook kite, however, will have far less interest for the people of this country than will his list of the rulers of the United States.

On that subject Mr. Gerard mixes truth with abundant error, and the truth needs to be sifted out of the error. He compiles a list of financial and industrial leaders, with a few luckless newspaper proprietors and a couple of trade-union politicians thrown in, and declares that they rule us by virtue of their ability. Now, by and large, and making many necessary qualifications, it is doubtless true that Mr. Rockefeller and Mr. Mellon and Mr. Morgan and Mr. Baker and the rest of the sixty-four do rule us. It is no less true because Communists and Socialists insist on it, and persist in drawing certain unpleasant conclusions from it. Money talks, and politicians act by orders or on sufferance of financial and industrial rulers, even though the process be not nearly so simple as the critics imagine. But from the days of Aristotle down, the political scientists have pointed out as a fact that the distribution of political power everywhere and always is intimately dependent on the control of property. No competent observer denies it, and certainly Mr. Gerard, with his rich experience in "practical politics," could not help seeing it. If his sixty-four men rule us, as they do despite all disclaimers, then they do it because they control the property of the United States, which is something quite different from what Mr. Gerard says.

What then? How are we to attain liberty in that case? Overthrow the property system, say the Communists, and you destroy the power of the sixty-four, and the people will be free. But this does not follow at all. At present we have a concentration of power, due to the control of property in the hands of the sixty-four, offset to some extent by the conflict of other property interests (those of the farmers, for example) and the other minor forces that make themselves felt in politics. What is the fresh guaranty of liberty involved in concentrating property in the hands of the state, and the power of property, consequently, in the hands of state officials? It may be argued, perhaps, that economic necessity is going to drive us to some such centralized ownership and management of the great industrial machine, but if so, we are simply faced with a new and more difficult problem in the endless war for freedom. At present, the practical problem is how to use the political power of the state to insure the blessings of liberty, if possible, to men without property, as against the economic power of property owners; under communism, it would be how to insure liberty to all citizens as against a state wielding both political and economic power. Our present political task, then, concerns the relation of the state to the men who hold in their hands the economic power of life and death.

But the sixty-four rule, we are told, because of "ability." That ability, however, is of a special, albeit a practical and important kind—the ability to get and manage property. If we are ruled by such ability, it is because we consent to be ruled; and we consent because we value highly the things that it provides us. The sixty-four do not tyrannize over an unwilling people. Whether we shall continue their rule depends ultimately on what we want. Of course it is ridiculously untrue to say that even now sixty-four or sixty-four thousand business leaders absolutely rule us. Ability of other kinds counts. It is eminently desirable for it to play a much larger part, and the present moment, when we have ceased to be besotted with prosperity, is a good time to think soberly just what business rule has and has not given us. Such thought is bound to lead to a decreased emphasis on the importance of more material goods, with a greater attention to rational distribution and to proper conditions of work and leisure, and beyond that to greater consideration of the possibilities of life and happiness that arise out of normal human relations and not out of the getting of wealth at all. To the extent that we make that choice we free ourselves from the present domination of our business leaders. Such a distant consummation is the proper goal of American education and politics.

The Uses of Adversity

FROM the beginning of time the poets and prophets have pointed to the uses of adversity. "In the day of prosperity be joyful" says the author of Ecclesiastes, "but in the day of adversity consider." Bacon reminds us that "prosperity does best discover vice, but adversity doth best discover virtue." And Shakespeare, of course:

> Sweet are the uses of adversity;
> Which like the toad, ugly and venomous,
> Wears yet a precious jewel in his head.

Our modern sages rediscover the ancient truth. Mr. Henry Ford, in fact, not only discovers that adversity has its compensations, but seems to regard it as being better than prosperity—or at all events, better than last year's prosperity. "Recovery from any kind of sickness is always a good thing," he is quoted as remarking, "even though it is accompanied with considerable pain and inconvenience. But everybody is mistaking the recovery for the sickness. The country is far better off today than it was a year ago when the people were fairly crazy with stock speculation fever." And Mr. Calvin Coolidge finds that "the increase of 1½ per cent in the sales of life insurance for the first seven months of the year is wonderfully encouraging."

Mr. Coolidge's statement of fact is correct, even if the conclusions he draws from it are somewhat too comfortable. He might have supplemented his encouraging fact from the reports of savings banks. For the six months ended June

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last the country's mutual savings banks reported a gain in deposits of $274,000,000, compared with a loss of $83,000,000 in the last six months of 1929, when savings were being drawn upon to protect stock-market margins. At the end of June the total deposits of the mutual savings banks reached $9,146,000,000, the highest on record. This year, for the first time in six years, the savings banks of New York State reported a net gain in deposits in July. Deposits in July were actually $4,000,000 less than in July a year ago; it was the fact that withdrawals were $44,000,000 less than July last year that converted a net loss in deposits of $28,000,000 then into a net gain of $12,000,000 in July this year.

Thus adversity discourages gambling and reckless spending and forces us back to the homely virtue of thrift, and it does this not only for individuals but for the great corporations as well. When profits are high, wasteful methods of business tend to set in; but narrow profits or heavy deficits compel the study of economies and more efficient productive methods, which continue in force when prosperity returns again. Thus the railroads during the trying times beginning in 1920 and 1921 initiated large-scale economies which brought down the ratio of operating costs to revenues from 77¾ per cent in 1923 to 72⅜ per cent in 1927. Current discussion in railroad circles indicates that somewhat the same process may be under way at the present time, and there is little doubt that when we come out of the present depression, not only the railroads, but all the major industries will be operating with a degree of economy and efficiency that was unnecessary in the piping times of 1929. The several million unfortunates thrown out of employment may be forgiven if they do not quite understand Mr. Ford's meaning, but there is truth even in his assertion that one of the advantages of the present depression is that we have been "compelled to take a dose of that old-fashioned medicine, real work."

It is a gain, too, that economic romanticism has been succeeded by economic realism. At the peak of last year's stock market there was no longer any intelligible relation between the actual earnings of a company and the price of its stock. In the main, two emotional slogans had taken the place of cold arithmetic. One of these held that "You can't be a bear on the U. S. A." and the other that we had entered a "new era" where the old economic rules no longer applied. However sound the first may have been as a long-run principle, it proved costly to those who felt they could apply it to any stock at any price; and it has since been discovered that new eras can show distressing similarities to old eras.

Present conditions, however, provide something else than an opportunity for facile moralizing. Perhaps the greatest value of the present depression may prove to be the fact that it will force us as a nation to confront the problem of unemployment more seriously. Unemployment does not appear merely in periods of general depression; there are always special industries that are slowly dying and dropping men, and there are always industries throwing men suddenly out of work when new labor-saving devices are introduced. In ordinary times legislators and public officials remain callously indifferent to the fate of these men; we have not yet learned to accept public responsibility for them. If existing conditions should lead to the adoption of well-thought-out plans of unemployment insurance perhaps they will have been worth their heavy cost.

Intellectuals in Politics

THE scholar in politics has been a good deal under suspicion since Henry Cabot Lodge, historian and biographer, turned out to be as much of a machine politician as any of his Senatorial colleagues, and most people have concluded that neither President Roosevelt nor President Wilson did much credit to American intellectuals. Ever since the World War cast a blight over free thought and free speech, the intellectuals have avoided politics about as they would the plague, denouncing it from time to time as dirty business but giving no help in making it better. Only here or there has a scholar, or writer, or teacher, or thinker been willing to stand for an elective office, and most of them have had their trouble for their pains.

The consequences have been mad for the state and bad for the intellectuals. The practical work of government has been left to men who, for the most part, had at best only a nodding acquaintance with culture and at worst an open contempt for everything that culture means. In most other countries public service, and the political activities which go with it, have seemed to the intellectuals worth while. The rosters of the English House of Commons or the French Chamber of Deputies contain the names of a fair number of scholars or writers whom the intellectual world regards as important, and virtually every German Minister is likely to be a Ph.D. In the United States, a surprising number of men who are entitled to be called professor seem nervously anxious to keep the fact dark, and doctors of philosophy or writers of books are as scarce in the Senate or House of Representatives as are millionaires in Grub Street.

That is why the appearance of Heywood Broun as a Socialist candidate for Congress in a hardboiled conservative district in New York City is an event of national significance. Mr. Broun is not a scholar as the technicalities go, and he would be like a bull in a china shop if he were placed in a professor's chair. He is a man of letters, a writer of force and charm, and an independent and constructive thinker. His daily columns in the New York *Telegram* and his weekly articles in *The Nation* have been read and admired by tens of thousands for their humor, their shrewd observations regarding people and events, and their unsparing exposure of shams. If a head needs hitting, Mr. Broun is rather likely to hit it, and an immense audience recognizes the deftness and vigor of the blow.

Mr. Broun's irruption into politics ought to make American intellectuals sit up and take notice. It does not matter so much, for the moment at least, whether he is elected or not; we fancy that he himself will not change his gait or go to bed an hour earlier either way. What matters a great deal is that he has gone into the fight because the fight needed him, and because an intellectual assault on the Park Avenue mind is the best possible way to wake up other intellectuals and set them at work. We hope he may win, not because he is a Socialist, or a columnist, or an all-round good fellow, nor because Washington needs a dash of color against its walls of drab, but because he is an intellectual. If Heywood Broun can go to Congress, so can other intellectuals. That would bring a day of saving grace.

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Government and Business*

By OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD

THAT there is a distinct infelicity between business and government must be perfectly obvious. If there were a great domestic-relations court to deal with them these two unhappy parties would appear before it on endless occasions, in endless roles. Day by day new problems and new difficulties arise. The hurly-burly increases; it never dies down. At bottom, it is all, of course, a struggle between government and the selfish motive of private profit which actuates so many of our citizens. That profit motive is deemed in capitalist states as an indispensable well-spring of ambition if mankind is to advance, the Russian Communists being ridiculed for daring to assert that they can change human nature, substitute interest in the general welfare for interest in private profit, and still expect industry, ambition, and the determination to rise to manifest themselves among the masses of the people. Between the two extremes there is every variation, but this paper is concerned only with recording certain of the contradictory phases of the struggle in this country.

In the first place, let it be established that the relationship of our government to business becomes steadily closer and closer; that where there is one example of our government retiring from a business into which it has entered, such as its steady withdrawal from its war-time mercantile-shipping enterprise, there are a dozen others in which it recognizes its moral responsibility to curb the appetites and control the ambitions of those whose business daring leads them into new fields, like the radio, or into combinations of larger and larger units.

Thus we find government policies changing with extraordinary speed, and the opinions of the public and the business world as well. What could be more remarkable, for example, than our government's change of front on the proposed merger of the Great Northern and Northern Pacific railroads? Mr. Roosevelt's successful attack, in 1904, upon the Northern Securities Company, formed to merge these two roads, was thought by many to be the high point of his administration. Today, only twenty-six years later, we find the government not only approving the merger of these two roads, but through the Interstate Commerce Commission actually planning the combination. Even more remarkable is the fact that not until months after this was proposed did any opposition manifest itself among the farmers, who have not even yet asked that the $10,000,000 the railroads plan to save by this merger be shared with them in the form of lower rates. Is the change due to a wiser afterthought or to altered economic conditions?

Again, when war came it seemed natural and wise for the government to take over and operate the railroads, shipping, and coal mines, to supervise our agriculture and many industrial enterprises. Everybody acquiesced and nobody questioned. The government was urged to take over forests, factories, plants of every kind, to build docks, shipyards, railroads, whole villages and towns. Nobody declared that this was socialistic or communistic. It was just *necessary,* in order to coordinate all the forces of the nation, to forge the thunderbolts needed to destroy the German military power.

When the war ended, the government made haste to restore the property it had taken and operated and give it back to our wasteful, uncoordinated, inefficient, individualistic, competitive industrial system. Business was insistent that it should do so—even though the coal mines, for example, reverted to conditions notoriously bad, which in many cases made the earning of adequate profits impossible. Plainly, we have here a very great difference between peace and war. What is good for us when we are all trying to murder a lot of other human beings across the seas is bad for us when we are devoting ourselves to the homespun duties of caring for wives and children in obedience to the private-profit motive.

Occasionally, however, we do slip back. The newly established Federal Farm Board, for example, is an effort to deal with agriculture as a whole. This new deal was brought about, not by the national emergency of war, but by the emergency of bad times. I had expected that cries of socialism would be raised against it by an outraged business world, but business, suddenly acutely conscious of a falling-off in the farmers' buying power, did not make serious opposition. So the government supplied $200,000,000 to a board to coordinate the entire industry, to teach it to buy and sell cooperatively. But the board went far beyond that, undertaking the suicidal policy of attempting from Washington to peg the prices of world commodities, with the result that its losses to date are variously estimated at between $40,000,000 and $50,000,000. Surely the government never went into business more deeply or more disastrously.

This brings us to one of the most striking facts in this whole tangled field of industrial and government relations, and that is that government regulation, or operation, or ownership is never socialistic, or in any way reprehensible, when the business it regulates or takes over is in straits or bankrupt. Of this the classic example is the Cape Cod Canal. This waterway was dug by private capital under a license granted by the State of Massachusetts. When it was urged that the canal should be built and operated by the government, the immediate reply was that such an undertaking would interfere unduly in private business. The projectors, all prominent financiers in Boston and New York, were sure that they had a gold mine. Unfortunately for them, their prognostications were entirely at fault. They could not so much as pay interest on the mortgage, or even adequately repair their works. Then a miracle happened. It suddenly became clear to all involved that the government should own this canal because of its great value in war time as a short cut on the route from New York to Boston. From that moment everybody forgot about the wickedness of the government's intervening in private business. After years of intense lobbying in Washington, the Congress was induced to pay some $10,000,000 for a bankrupt concern whose waterway was not even being adequately dredged.

* An address at the Institute of Public Affairs, University of Virginia, August 12, 1930.

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Can anyone doubt that if conditions should arise in this country making it impossible for the railroads to finance themselves adequately and easily, the movement for government ownership of them would increase tremendously? Again, consider the recent public declaration of Owen Young, chairman of the Radio Corporation of America, that if the government did not permit a union of the two telegraph companies, the radio company, and other transmission concerns in the international communication field, he would favor government ownership and operation for all of them. In other words, if he could not amalgamate these companies and run them just as he wished, he favored unloading the whole business upon Washington without asking whether that would be socialism or communism or anything else. If he could not bring about amalgamation, he wanted to get out from under, because the enterprises involved could not, he said, compete with foreign rivals.

Let us turn to the tariff. Most persons think of it merely as a means of choking off foreign competition, and they welcome it as such despite the fact that they have been brought up to believe that competition is the life of trade. The public does not realize that when the government grants a tariff to a given industry, because that industry is not satisfied with the profits it can make without the tariff, it is becoming a partner in the business, and is far from being a sleeping or silent partner. In many cases, government cooperation in choking the normal processes of trade between nations is declared to be the one thing that keeps a particular business alive. For instance, the cane growers of Louisiana have succeeded in convincing the government, particularly by means of political persuasion, that cane growing in Louisiana is so vital to the future of the country as to make it just and right to tax everybody else to keep the cane growers in a business which they say could not stand on its own legs for two minutes without this government aid. Here again we find that the government's mixing into private business in this manner, joining with it to regulate its profits, is a highly beneficent action, of such far-reaching value as to lead a great many people to attribute to this policy the great industrial development of the United States. The very captains of industry who protested against the establishment of a Federal Trade Commission and other regulatory bodies on the ground that they were bringing government more and more into the field of private business eagerly urge the government to participate in the development of manufacturing industry by means of a tariff.

Let us enter one more field—that of the railroads. When peace was declared, the public was no longer entitled to the benefits which accrued to the country from the operation of the railroads as a whole. The government, therefore, turned the roads back to private operation, yet decided that a certain amount of consolidation and cooperation was desirable. It was a difficult task for the Interstate Commerce Commission to decide just how much cooperation is justifiable in peace times as contrasted with war times, but it finally decided that in place of one group there should be seventeen groups. Into each of these groups it put some strong, prosperous railroads, but also some weak and comparatively inefficient ones. Despite the putting together of such competitive lines as the Northern Pacific and the Great Northern, it has been maintained that this regrouping of the railroads upholds the sacred principle of competition. The commission has cut out the competitive waste and duplication of effort to just the degree that it considers best for us, and left sufficient waste and duplication to make us feel at home in the new situation. Though the railroads are generally dissatisfied, business is convinced that by this action the specter of government operation and ownership has again been laid. Business is very careful never to remind the public that the United States government now owns and operates two railroad lines, one of which is nearly a thousand miles long, and operates them apparently with complete satisfaction to the public; the one is in Alaska, the other parallels the Panama Canal.

Next let us consider how far the government's anti-trust policy has affected the development of business. There is no doubt that the anti-trust laws still have some deterrent effect. If it were not for fear of the law, I believe that every single steel and iron company would be under one management today. That has actually almost come to pass in Germany, where last fall there was created a cartel embracing almost every steel plant in Germany. Precisely as in Russia, the German steel and iron industry has thus become an organic whole. In Germany, however, the vast power thus created is controlled by a group of private individuals, whereas in Russia the similar trust is managed by that most wicked of persons, a Bolshevik official. Let our government return to a laissez faire policy for the railroads, and a J. P. Morgan, a modern Harriman, or another James J. Hill would within the space of a very few years bring the railroads of the country under one control.

The successful demand for a powerful commission in Washington to control all power companies is due to the belief that unless something is done there will soon be one company controlling not only all the power plants and public utilities in the United States, but also all between the Rio Grande and the Straits of Magellan. Four years ago five companies controlled 47 per cent of the nation's power output, the next eight in size controlled another 23 per cent, and the next seven 14 per cent. These first twenty produced more than 50,000,000,000 kilowatt hours of the total of 61,000,000,000 generated, or about 83 per cent. During the past four years this concentration has gone on apace. In the public-utility field 402 companies disappeared in 1925, 1,029 in 1926, 911 in 1927, and 892 in 1928. Of the mergers in 1927, 54 were of holding companies taken over by other holding companies. As this address is being written comes the news that the Mellon interests have purchased a substantial share in the $1,200,000,000 Electric Power Corporation, formed last year by the American Founders-United Founders group.

In the field of banking the trend is the same. From 1922 to 1925 the number of mergers hovered between 120 and 125 per year, rising to 154 in 1926 and 259 in 1927. Eighty per cent of the capitalization of all the banks of the country is now said to be in the hands of twelve financial concerns and, as John Dewey has just written, "it is evident that virtual control of the other 20 per cent, except for negligible institutions having only local importance, automatically ensues." If the financial power of the country as centered in our banks should fall into the hands of two or three groups, would not the government have to insist on a much closer control than the present one? If we turn to other American industries we find the same trend. There

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is nothing more striking than the mergers and amalgamations in the newspaper field and the sudden rise of newspaper chains under a single management. In the automobile field 75 per cent of the annual sales are in the hands of two companies, and it is believed that some of the weaker companies will be compelled to amalgamate before 1930 ends. In the moving-picture industry 5,000 of the 20,000 theaters are in the hands of the large producers and distributors of films.

In the field of oil production we have perhaps the most bizarre situation of all. Last year the private-profit method of exploiting natural resources had finally brought us to the point where we were producing at the rate of 485,000,000 barrels of oil a year more than we needed. The petroleum producers became alarmed and petitioned the government to limit the 1929 production in the country to the 1928 level—another case of industry throwing itself into the arms of that dreadful person the government because its profits were beginning to fall to a dangerous degree. But the naughty Attorney General ruled that the proposed restrictive arrangement was price fixing and therefore illegal—a blow at the Hoover policy of intertrade agreements, whereupon the oil men made plans to limit production anyhow and take a chance in the courts. This year finds the oil companies in still greater distress, with several new fields opened up, and so we have the comical situation that the companies want limitation, most people want it, and the government wants it, but nobody dares practice it because of our theory of government called rugged individualism and a statute called the Sherman Anti-Trust Act. Surely the demonstration is complete as to where the private-profit motive is leading us, and where it would lead us if our government were to take its hands off.

In view of the fact that President Hoover is reported to be in favor of repealing the Sherman Anti-Trust Act, and has encouraged the coming together of manufacturers in all lines of enterprise to formulate intertrade agreements in order to cut out waste, duplication, and the creation of unnecessary articles, the question is sometimes raised whether we are not coming to the Communist ideal from another point of approach. May we not see within a few years here the duplication of the German iron and steel cartel in every line of industry? Certainly fewer and fewer people believe that the private-profit motive when left alone to exploit the riches of the earth is harmless, or even beneficial in the absence of monopoly. More and more people are beginning to see that uncontrolled exploitation of natural resources means waste, high cost, ruin of the small producers, and, finally, grave overproduction endangering all concerned. No thoughtful person can watch this spectacle without realizing that a new way of living must be found. They recall that when we wanted to win a war and were told that oil and steel and rubber meant human lives we immediately threw our whole existing system overboard, and authorized the social control, not only of natural resources, but of key industries. Should this policy be carried out to its logical conclusion—something that I beg you to believe I am not today advocating—we should find ourselves with every business organized into a trust, controlled by a small group of men, and strictly regulated by a government commission.

No man is wise enough today to say just where the final answer lies, but one thing we may lay down as axiomatic. Our own problem can be paralleled in every other highly industrialized country. Any final solution must establish free trade among all the peoples, must abolish cutthroat and wasteful economic competition, and, most important of all, must abolish war between nations.

As immediate steps in this country I would recommend government ownership of railroads, pipe lines, and coal mines, and their operation by the government. I note with great interest that Mr. Frank Haas, a prominent mining engineer of Philadelphia, in speaking before the American Institute of Mining and Metallurgical Engineers, has just advocated government ownership of coal lands with private operation, because "the average coal operator is losing money, notwithstanding a firm conviction on the part of the consumer that he pays too much for his coal." Mr. C. E. Bockus, president of the National Coal Association, on the same occasion declared that the industry is suffering from "uneconomic, unreasonable, and unfair competition," and from an overproduction that has driven the average of prices "below the cost of production with any fair recompense for the capital expended in the industry." What we should strive for, of course, is the control of all our natural resources that have not yet gone into the hands of private owners for private profit. In the water-power field quick action is of enormous importance. If we retain the fee simple, we may grant licenses for operation under strict conditions insuring rates based on bona fide capital investment and not upon items such as huge and unreasonable fees to bankers, payments to lobbyists and other more than dubious items which have often been charged as part of the original investment.

In cases where government operation seems necessary, I commend the story of the Inland Waterways Corporation (as described at length in *The Nation* of June 18, 1930), an agency of the War Department for developing inland waterways, which under the headship of Major General T. Q. Ashburn has made a complete success of a barge line upon the Mississippi River where private capital facing private competition failed. Between 1920 and 1924 the government, operating the waterways directly, lost one million dollars. Today the corporation is paying a profit of $125,000 a year into the United States Treasury. In passing, it is interesting to note that General Ashburn has testified that in the five years during which he has been head of the company he has never been approached for political purposes or for patronage by any member of Congress or any politician.

To many, I presume, these suggestions will seem radical and dangerous, socialistic, perhaps even communistic. Let us not be afraid of adjectives. The Interstate Commerce Commission was denounced at its inception as highly dangerous and highly socialistic. No railroad president today would think of recommending its abolition, of returning to the previous state of affairs. That the times are changing, the facts I have set down prove. If we are to do anything else but drift we must recognize the fact that the competitive system has failed at many points, must begin to do at once what has been done abroad—formulate far-reaching economic and political programs to deal with the new situation. Sooner or later this will have to be done. We too are part of a world current; it is sweeping us onward. Shall we drift through the rapids without thought as to what may happen to us, or shall we set ourselves a course and hold it true? That is the question which confronts us all.

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North Carolina Keeps Faith

By EDGAR W. KNIGHT

THE recent election of Frank Graham, over his protest, to the presidency of the University of North Carolina, to succeed Dr. Harry W. Chase, who goes to the presidency of the University of Illinois, is viewed generally as an event of immense educational significance for the South. And if the wide editorial comment is representative of real opinion, this forty-four-year-old, many-sided, popular scholar, teacher, and bachelor becomes head of his Alma Mater with wider approval than could have been given any other man.

Graham is favorably known in every nook and corner of North Carolina. He calls by their first names more people than any other man in the State and is addressed by more people in the same intimate manner. For twenty-five years, since he entered the University of North Carolina as a freshman in 1905, he has been closely identified with the life of the institution and its students and alumni. Although his qualities are not those which commend men to the favor of political bosses, it is probable that Frank Graham could have any office in the gift of the citizens of North Carolina, but he is not political-minded, nor has he personal ambition. His ambition is for the institution in which he has invested his life for a quarter of a century.

Only five feet six and weighing but 130 pounds, he combines in his "astounding personality," as the Baltimore *Evening Sun* characterizes it, high intellectual ability, convictions that are firm but free from intolerance, an unbounded patience, limitless energy, an enthusiasm almost apostolic in its fervor, an extraordinary capacity and natural felicity for finding a direct way into personal and public confidence, and, above all, a quiet willingness to be forgotten. Sometimes he seems to throw himself into life about him with the naive imprudence of a child, whether he is going about his routine college duties, planning the program for a social-service conference, organizing college men and women in some public enterprise, making a high-school commencement talk, addressing a Rotary Club, counseling in a faculty committee or in a meeting of the State Library Commission, or protesting in a public statement against bigotry or social injustice in the commonwealth. Forthright in all that he does and says, he sees and cries out against the faults and absurdities of men and manners, but always with fairness and a sympathetic tenderness for the underprivileged. No Southerner of this generation is more fully aware than Graham of the weaknesses of his fellow-Southerners and his section of the country.

Graham's sympathetic and broad understanding of the functions of a university in a modern State heartens his colleagues and the other friends of education. He believes in teaching, in research, in extension, and all of these he has helped to encourage. An inspiring and effective teacher —last year the senior class voted him one of the best teachers in the university—his energies have gone largely into the work of the classroom, but he sees his students outside as well. He goes to a mass-meeting of students to "pep" them up on the eve of a football game with Carolina's ancient rival, Virginia, gives a Phi Beta Kappa address, attends a meeting of the local post of the American Legion, a civic club, or the board of trustees of the children's library, or deliberates with the president's advisory committee, with the same energy and eagerness.

His interest, notwithstanding his training in history, is not in remote and obscure phases of the human record but in the present scene. Largely through his inspiration and leadership a bond issue of $20,000,000 was provided by the legislature in 1921 for the educational and charitable institutions of the State. He was the leader in a recent movement to lift North Carolina from the humiliating last place in the American Union in public-library facilities. "We mean to hew to the line and cut through ignorance, indifference, inertia, and inequality until every person has equal public access to books in every county in North Carolina," proclaimed Graham.

Five years ago, when shock troops of the fundamentalists sought the committee rooms and the floors of the legislature of North Carolina in a frenzied effort to restrict freedom of teaching in the schools of the State, Graham was studying in Europe. He promptly sent to the press of the State a carefully prepared statement on "Evolution, the University, and the People" in which he appealed to the people of the State to fight against the "false fear of truth and the foes of freedom" and to hold "the first-line trench against bigotry and this ancient tyranny in its latest form. Freedom to think, freedom to speak, and freedom to print are the texture of our university standard, on which *Lux—Libertas* is inscribed. . . . Legislative appropriations may come down for a time, but *Lux—Libertas* never!" The effort failed that year, but was revived two years later. Graham, now returned to his history classroom on Chapel Hill, went boldly into the heart of the fundamentalist province and helped to stop the movement dead in its tracks.

Graham's keen sense of social justice has been conspicuously illustrated in connection with the recent industrial conflicts in North Carolina. He has lectured and written and talked with leaders as a flaming apostle of a better social order in a State that now has new problems to face. He has worked as probably no other private individual has done to have North Carolina adjust itself to the changes produced by industrialization without the tragic cost entailed in industrial revolution elsewhere. This was Graham's theme a year ago when, as president of the North Carolina Conference for Social Service, he pleaded for a commonwealth

> . . . where individualism will not mean the freedom of any individual to impair the lives of other men but will mean such social control as will guarantee the freedom of every individual to make the most of his personality; where machines shall not, through the long watches of a sixty-hour week, tyrannize over the bodies and spirits of men; where children in factories shall become children in school; where there shall be no industrial night work for women.

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Last winter, after months of disorders in Gastonia and Marion, Graham drew up and addressed to the people of North Carolina a statement of principles, which in substance asked that the constitutional and legal rights of person and property and lawful freedom of speech and assembly be guaranteed equally to all persons in North Carolina without regard to birthplace, race, ownership, or labor status, unionism or non-unionism, religion, politics, or economic views; that these rights are the essentials of Americanism and "without faithless violation, can stand against the fallacies, fanaticism, and violence of communism, fascism, and anarchism, with the due processes of light, liberty, and law"; and that if these ideals of American freedom are preserved, "the fair and open resources of American democracy will prevail over class hatreds and dictatorships, economic unreason and social injustice." The statement also declared for the "equal right of the investors of capital and management and the investors of human life and labor to bargain collectively"; and called for a nation-wide, nonpartisan economic and social survey and analysis of the textile industry in America. More than four hundred men and women signed the statement, which was published in the press of the State and was, of course, denounced as communistic and dangerous, although it was in large part only an indorsement of the Bill of Rights.

If there were those who looked upon Graham as radical in his social views, however, their opinions had no weight with the trustees of the State university, who appear to be determined to keep it the liberal and progressive institution it has always been. Under his leadership the group at Chapel Hill will lose none of its militant aggressiveness, and that will be fortunate for the South. He brings to his new responsibility a larger respect and confidence of the student body, the faculty, the trustees, and the people of the State at large than is enjoyed by any other individual in North Carolina. His selection, in view of the record of the past ten years, is of happy augury for university leadership in progressive movements.

Graham is a native of the State and comes of a family of teachers. His father, Dr. Alexander Graham, superintendent emeritus of the Charlotte public schools, is known as the father of the graded-school system of North Carolina. His cousin, the late Dr. Edward Kidder Graham, was the brilliant president of the University of North Carolina from 1914 to 1918, and gave to the institution its greatest impetus since the Civil War. President Graham was educated in the public schools and the University of North Carolina, at Columbia University, at the University of Chicago, and in Europe. He has taught in North Carolina high schools, and for sixteen years has served the university as instructor and professor of history. He is not, however, an approved product of the graduate school, and scholastically he is unconventional; but he has broad culture, high standards, intellectual honesty, capacity as a speaker, progressive spirit, and freedom from provincial limitations. He is not essentially a fiscal agent or a bookkeeper, and it remains to be seen how well he can administer a university budget and keep sweet while handling the hideous details that crowd upon a university executive. But if any crafty North Carolina politician indulges the conceit that he can deceive the new president of the university, he is headed for disappointment; and if that institution does not go forward under the leadership of Graham then we may as well adjourn higher education in North Carolina.

New Economic Blocs in Europe

By FRIEDRICH SCHEU

Vienna, August 10

THE recent agrarian conferences in Southeastern Europe (at Bucharest between Rumania, Jugoslavia, and Hungary, and later at Sinaia between Rumania and Jugoslavia) have created quite a stir in European political circles. They are symptoms of the growing strength of the regional movement, as opposed to the international and national movements. At present limited to the economic field, this development may become politically important.

The conference at Bucharest was a first-class political paradox; for the hatred between the Little Entente—Czecho-Slovakia, Jugoslavia, and Rumania—on the one hand and Hungary on the other has been generally regarded as one of the few permanent facts in the varying political alignments of Europe. And yet, here were Rumania and Jugoslavia amicably discussing a customs union and an "agrarian bloc" with their ancient foe, Hungary, while their political ally, Czecho-Slokavia, was left conspicuously outside.

The reasons for the political antagonism between Hungary and its neighbors are, of course, well known. Since the peace treaty of the Trianon Hungary has carried on at home and abroad a continuous agitation for the return of its lost provinces. It has also clearly expressed its intention to recall to the throne at the first convenient moment the Hapsburg family, which has never given up its claims to the territories it ruled before the war, including Austria, Czecho-Slovakia, and large parts of what is now Rumania, Jugoslavia, and Poland. These points of conflict remain. Nevertheless, the symptoms of a better understanding deserve the attention which they are attracting, for they indicate a new tendency in Europe.

The new movement tends toward the formation of regional blocs in Europe. Its first manifestation occurred in Rumania, where the economic policy of the Rumanian Peasants' Party, which is in power there, strikes a new note in the politics of Southeastern Europe. Premier Maniu and his party were carried to power two years ago by the small peasantry. Their predecessors had given the banks and the industrialists everything and the peasants nothing. The present administration has reversed the order. The agrarian crisis has become the government's first consideration, even at the sacrifice of the development of Rumanian industry.

Rumanian agriculture, since it depends upon exports, is suffering heavily because of international tariff walls. The aim of the present government is to find markets abroad. The method is to accord easier conditions of import into

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Rumania to those industrial countries which are willing in exchange to buy Rumanian wheat and maize. Dr. Madgearu, the economic intellect of the Rumanian Peasants' Party, formerly Finance Minister and now Minister of Commerce, has formulated his economic program in a booklet, "Rumania's New Economic Policy," from which is taken the following characteristic quotation:

> A first corollary of the agrarian orientation in economic policy is the substitution of the principle of economic interdependence for the illusion of economic self-sufficiency. Consequently, our foreign economic policy is directed toward the ideal of international economic cooperation. . . . The new tariff adopted by the Rumanian Parliament last July is inspired by the recommendations and the spirit of Geneva. It is the first customs tariff drawn up since the Geneva conference which represents a lowering of the general tariff level.

The policy of the Rumanian government, which Madgearu calls "agrarianist" in opposition to the "industrialist" policy of other countries, must overcome two difficulties: competition from other agricultural countries and the existing tariffs of the industrial countries. Rumania could, of course, carry on negotiations with its customer countries single-handed, but its position would clearly be far more advantageous if it were not hampered by cutthroat competition from its agricultural neighbors. Rumania, therefore, opened negotiations with Jugoslavia and Hungary looking toward a conference on international agrarian cooperation. The moment was especially favorable, for the return of Prince Carol to Rumania had greatly strengthened the domestic position of the Peasants' Party. Moreover, economic necessities overshadowed political loyalties. The inclusion of Hungary, the traditional enemy, and the exclusion of Czecho-Slovakia on the ground that it is a half-industrial country roused no public protest.

Rumania's invitation to Jugoslavia and Hungary was a surprise to the public; the readiness with which the reactionary Hungarian government and the Jugoslav dictatorship accepted a plan so strongly tinged with progressivism was a greater surprise still. Apparently, neither of them wanted to risk the wrath of their own suffering peasant populations by refusing an advantageous offer. The conferences were preceded, accompanied, and followed by diplomatic moves and counter-moves. Czecho-Slokavian opinion had to be soothed by repeated declarations on the part of Rumania and Jugoslavia that the creation of an economic Little Entente was all the time at the back of their minds though they were actually negotiating an agrarian bloc with Hungary. Poland attempted to wreck the conference by proposing an agrarian bloc to include all Eastern Europe—a scheme so large as to be obviously doomed from the start. Jugoslavia and Rumania, while evading the Polish suggestions, tried to do so in a way that made evasion look like acceptance. Moreover, by issuing ambiguous and contradictory reports the participants managed to keep the actual results of the two agrarian conferences from the knowledge of the world. At the moment the public is not even certain whether the two-party conference at Sinaia was a continuation of the three-party conference at Bucharest, or whether it was a new step undertaken because the results of the first conference were not satisfactory. It is therefore only possible at present to survey the possibilities which were discussed.

It was suggested that agricultural cooperation, whether between two or between three agrarian countries, might either take the form of a common "agricultural-export syndicate" or go farther and lead to a customs union. Export syndicates would probably be built on the model of the Canadian and Australian wheat pools, an export syndicate in each country controlling the buying, storing, and marketing of the agricultural surplus. For the purpose of finding suitable markets and bargaining with industrial countries the three export syndicates would combine. A customs union, going much farther, would create a very strong economic unit in Southeastern Europe, well fitted for bargaining with the European industrial countries. By creating a large unified market for industrial goods, it would be able to obtain from industrial countries conditions favorable to the marketing of Southeastern European agricultural products.

While simple agrarian cooperation was the main theme of the three-nations conference at Bucharest, a customs union was announced as the purpose of the later conference between Rumania and Jugoslavia. Neither of these schemes has as yet been worked out in detail, and to what extent agrarian cooperation will be put into practice during the next few months is uncertain, but other similar movements are already making themselves felt. Poland is calling the agrarian countries of Eastern Europe to a conference at Warsaw at the end of August. It remains to be seen whether this conference has any purpose other than to offer competition against the Southeastern agrarian plan. Greece, Turkey, and Bulgaria are reported to be negotiating a possible "tobacco bloc" on the model of the agrarian bloc. Formation of an economic bloc of the Central European industrial countries in answer to the agrarian bloc is being discussed in Germany, Austria, and Czecho-Slovakia.

An important obstacle in the way of all such attempts is the fact that existing commercial treaties usually contain the most-favored-nation clause. If regional systems, bound together by preferential tariffs, are created, then the existing commercial treaties will have to be renounced unless some technical way is found of evading the most-favored-nation clause. State monopolies of foreign trade would provide such a technical solution.

It remains to speak of the political effects of the new regionalism. It has been customary for a European country to be at loggerheads with its immediate neighbor and at the same time to be politically allied to the country which lies just beyond its neighbor. The relations of France, Germany, and Poland, of France, Italy, and Jugoslavia, and of Czecho-Slovakia, Hungary, and Rumania offer obvious examples. The countries which are now being drawn toward economic union by the force of necessity immediately adjoin each other. Hungary, Rumania, Jugoslavia, organized into an economic bloc, would constitute a unit to be reckoned with politically, as would also a German-Austrian-Czecho-Slovakian bloc, a Turkish-Bulgarian-Greek bloc, or a bloc of the Baltic or Scandinavian states.

Ten years ago internationally minded people all over the world were hoping for a world-wide organization, both political and economic, in which all countries would be included. This hope has been disappointed. Russia, to begin with, could not be included in such a system. America and Europe cannot be expected to form an effective union together. Great Britain more and more draws away from

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Continental Europe, while the movement for bringing the component parts of the British Empire nearer together grows in force. The Conservatives are advocating Empire free trade; the Labor Party, while rejecting direct protection, is steadily moving in the direction of "bulk purchase and import boards"; and the declarations of the Trade Union Congress, as well as the recent decisions of the Independent Labor Party, leave no doubt that a system of bulk-purchase agreements with the dominions will form an important part of the Labor economic program during the next session.

It would therefore seem that the solution of the European problem lies in an organization of the Continental European countries along the lines of Count Coudenhove-Kalergi's pan-Europe plans or Briand's proposed United States of Europe. But recent experience has shown that even the plan of an organization embracing the Continental countries is beyond present possibilities. Europe is divided into two camps: France and its allies stand against Italy and its allies; Germany is looking on, at present, as a neutral third.

But whereas France and Italy seem at present to be able to stand in splendid isolation from each other, their Eastern allies are being forced by the economic crisis to forget their differences and come together. It is for this reason that the regional movement has greater force at present than any attempts to organize the whole of Europe. For this reason, also, the movement has begun in the Southeast.

The new tendency promises to lead toward a reduction in the number of tariff barriers and more rational economic organization. It is a welcome sign in international affairs.

Cantaloupes and Communists

By CONRAD SEILER

CALIFORNIA'S law against criminal syndicalism, inoperative since the post-war hysteria of 1924, has recently claimed nine more victims.* On June 16 nine young leaders of the newly organized Agricultural Workers' Industrial League, affiliated with the Trade Union Unity League, were found guilty of conspiracy to interfere with the harvesting of the melon crop in Imperial Valley, thus disrupting constituted government and advocating criminal syndicalism. Lawrence Emory, Clark Sklar, J. C. Miller, Tetsuji Hariuchi, and Frank Spector were sentenced to from three to forty-two years in the State penitentiary; Danny Roxas, to from two to twenty-eight years; Emilio Alonzo will be deported to Mexico; the other two prisoners have applied for probation and are still waiting for the court's final decision.

Imperial Valley, the scene of the events leading up to these convictions, is situated in the desert, approximately two hundred miles southeast of Los Angeles. The southern extremity of this territory touches the Mexican border. The aggregate population of the three largest towns in the vicinity—El Centro, Brawley, and Calexico—is about 23,000. There are some 48,000 acres under cultivation. Melons, tomatoes, lettuce, and other crops are raised, but the principal vegetable crop is cantaloupes. During the busy season 8,000 or more laborers—Mexicans, Filipinos, Americans, and Hindus—are used to harvest the crops, which are then shipped to the Pacific Coast cities and also to the East.

The conditions under which these seasonal workers labor are always debasing and at times intolerable. Most of the work is done by contract, whereby 25 per cent of the laborer's wages is deducted by the middleman, or contractor, who is hired by the grower or the growers' association to provide so many "hands." There are many cases on record of unscrupulous contractors who toward the end of the season quietly appropriated the laborer's entire salary for several weeks and then left for parts unknown. Mr. Louis Bloch, statistician for the State Department of Industrial Relations, after his investigation of labor conditions in Imperial Valley in 1928, reported that the El Centro office of the Division of Labor Statistics and Law Enforcement was "replete with cases of defaulting contractors." By working through contractors the growers avoid all responsibility toward the laborers and cannot legally be held either for wage payments or for any accidents under the Workmen's Compensation Act of the State. These hopeless conditions have not improved since 1928; on the contrary, owing to the general economic depression, they have become steadily worse. In instances where growers have been unable to meet their obligations to the contractors, the laborer has got little or nothing.

The picking of the cantaloupe crop is organized upon a piece-work basis. The usual rate is 13 cents a crate. Most of the other vegetable pickers work at the rate of 35 cents an hour. The working day is long and arduous—from nine to sixteen hours, often with the thermometer registering 120 degrees in the shade. The work is strictly seasonal, and it is unusual for a laborer to be employed six months in the year. During the time he has work he seldom earns more than $550. Many of the laborers have families dependent upon their earnings. The sanitary arrangements in the fields are filthy beyond description. Frequently there is not a sufficient supply of drinking water; laborers are sometimes forced to resort to the open irrigation ditches to assuage their thirst.

Although the American Federation of Labor, with its somewhat contemptuous attitude toward the unskilled, has remained coldly aloof, since 1922 there have been sporadic attempts among the workers themselves to organize and to ameliorate their condition. Every attempt, however, has been put down ruthlessly by the growers and the pliant authorities; the leaders have been intimidated or jailed. A brief outline of these struggles during the past two years makes edifying reading.

* Criminal syndicalism is described by the California law as being "any doctrine or precept advocating, teaching, or aiding and abetting the commission of crime, sabotage (which word is hereby defined as meaning wilful and malicious physical damage or injury to physical property), or unlawful methods of terrorism as a means of accomplishing a change in industrial ownership or control, or effecting any political change." Anyone advocating such a doctrine, or publishing or printing it, or belonging to any organization advocating it, is guilty of criminal syndicalism and can be sent to the penitentiary for from one to fourteen years. If guilt is proved on all counts (there are five altogether), the punishment may be imprisonment for from five to seventy years—the prison terms running consecutively.

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On April 22, 1928, the first union was actually formed among the Mexican workers—La Unión de Trabajadores del Valle Imperial. Later the name was changed to the more innocuous Mexican Mutual Aid Society. A short time after its inception it had about 1,200 members. It then considered itself powerful enough to take action. In May of that year a committee appointed by the workers sent a pathetic appeal to the local chamber of commerce, describing the deplorable working conditions—which were well known—and respectfully petitioning that austere and representative body to use its "valuable moral and material influence" with the growers so that the lives of the workers might become more bearable. The communication was politely ignored. Next, a series of very moderate demands, which did not even include the abolition of the contract system, were sent to the growers, who by this time were considerably nettled by the impudence of their hitherto docile employees in attempting to organize. These demands were not ignored. Sheriff Charles L. Gillett, who has proved his worth by holding his position for eight years, appointed fifty men as deputies to help him control the ominous situation. Sheriff Gillett's impartiality was nothing short of magnificent. He made deputies of as many of the growers' superintendents, field inspectors, and foremen as he could find. These gallant defenders were duly armed for emergency. Within a short time, scores of bewildered laborers were arrested. The charge? Vagrancy or disturbing the peace. They were browbeaten and threatened with deportation. Bail ranged from $250 to $1,000, which few could provide.

Sheriff Gillett became more and more ardent. He even went so far as to arrest a delegation of workers whom District Attorney Elmer Heald had invited to his office. They were released only after the district attorney had expressed astonishment that the delegation had not arrived.

A great deal of bitterness was engendered among the Mexicans. Mr. Bloch, in his report to the director of the Department of Industrial Relations, refers to an article in a Mexican paper published in Mexicali:

> The article suggests in part [says the report] that if the Mexicans in the United States are threatened with deportation for "their peaceful demand . . . to have their salaries raised one cent . . . the North American oil men who have made such strenuous efforts in Mexico for the reformation of our oil legislation will find it much more practical to leave Mexico."

In different sections of the valley a partially effective strike occurred. This action was altogether spontaneous, and was not even sanctioned by what remained of the Mexican Mutual Aid Society. The growers and the local officials continued their method of intimidation and wholesale arrests. Men were arrested because they looked suspicious, because they were not working, because they refused to tell others to work, because they were Mexicans, or for no reason whatsoever. And the Mutual Aid Society gave one feeble kick and was no more. Melons continued to ripen in the sun, and there were plenty of men to pick them.

The year 1929 passed quietly. But at the beginning of 1930 a new organization, the Agricultural Workers' Industrial League, began its activities. It was not so complacent as its immediate predecessor, and all workers, irrespective of race and former affiliations, were urged to join. For several months the work of organization continued undisturbed, save for an occasional arrest. Then the Growers' and Shippers' Association, remembering certain past events, began to evince great interest in the new organization—an interest which was shared by Sheriff Gillett and the local chamber of commerce. There were portentous rumors of an impending strike, of melons rotting in the fields for lack of labor, rumors of communism, the red flag, and Moscow. Action was imperative; only cowards would hesitate. Sheriff Gillett began to make arrests again. On one occasion Clinton J. Taft, head of the Southern California branch of the Civil Liberties Union, protested to the sheriff that the arrested men were innocent of any wrongdoing. The officer hotly resented this implication and struck Mr. Taft, who thereupon swore out assault charges as a result of which Sheriff Gillett was fined $150.

On the night of April 14 the storm broke. A meeting of the Agricultural League in the town of Brawley, attended by a few hundred Mexicans and Filipinos, with a scattering of Americanos, was suddenly surrounded and broken up by a mob of deputies headed by the ubiquitous Sheriff Gillett. The deputies were fully armed and meant business. More than one hundred workers were chained together and taken in trucks to the jail at El Centro in which they could be confined until such time as the next steps should be taken in action against them. After a week's incarceration in the terrific heat of the jail, most of the men were released with no charges lodged against them. Thirty-two were accused of criminal syndicalism, and *$40,000 bail for each* was deemed equitable by the court. Later the thirty-two accused were further decreased to nine—most of them leaders of the Agricultural League, the Communist Party, and the International Labor Defense. After urgent protest by the defense lawyer provided by the Civil Liberties Union and the International Labor Defense, the bail was reduced to $15,000 for each prisoner.

During the trial in El Centro, before Presiding Judge V. N. Johnson of the Superior Court, representatives of the most prominent patriotic organizations, as well as Lieutenant W. F. Hynes of the Red Squad of the Los Angeles police, were present and added very much to the impressiveness of the occasion. Three employees of the J. H. Boling Detective Agency were the principal witnesses for the prosecution. They testified that they had become members of the subversive organization in order to find incriminating evidence. No overt acts of violence were proved, but the three detectives asserted that the defendants had at various times advocated violence, threatened to destroy cantaloupes, and spoken disrespectfully of the flag. The defendants denied this. The district attorney affirmed that the Agricultural Workers' Industrial League was directly affiliated with the red International and the Communist Party of Moscow. Exhibits included I. W. W. pamphlets, printed before the criminal-syndicalism law was passed, and papers and other publications of the Communist press. The fact was stressed that two of the defendants had admitted membership in the Communist Party.

The nine defendants were convicted and received the sentences described above. They are appealing their case, but powerful interests are grimly determined that all shall remain quiet on the labor front in the sovereign State of California.

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In the Driftway

THE Drifter has long been devoted to Negro spirituals. They seem to him not only the only original American music, aside from that of the Indians, but also the finest medium for interpreting to the whites some of the best qualities of the Negroes—their faith, their earnestness, their humor, their simplicity, and their marvelous gift for musical expression. But the spiritual, as the Drifter has found in his wide wanderings over this country, is not always well sung. It has been caught up by all sorts of itinerant Negro quartets and choruses, by no means all of which are gifted or well trained, and there has been a genuine danger of the spirituals being overdone and cheapened. So it was with some trepidation that the Drifter went the other evening to that most admirable New York institution, the open-air concerts of the New York Philharmonic Symphony Orchestra in the Lewisohn Stadium, to hear not only the orchestra but the Hall Johnson Negro Choir, even though he knew that it is this choir which has made so great a contribution to the success of "The Green Pastures," Marc Connelly's moving and touching Negro play.

* * * * *

THE Drifter's slight anxieties were absolutely needless. Never has he heard spirituals more beautifully rendered, or better Negro voices, or a finer ensemble, or more amazing leadership than Mr. Johnson's—it was worth the trip just to see his marvelous hands directing, without baton, the flow of the melody. More than that, to the Drifter's delight, Mr. Johnson's rearrangement of some of those songs not only left untouched their beauty and their profundity, but even added much brilliancy and richness, notably in his setting of Burleigh's "Deep River." Extraordinarily elevated and moving was also the chorus interpretation of Mr. Johnson's transcription of "The City Called Heaven," as noble a piece of inspirational music as one could wish to hear in any temple, whether canopied by the stars or encompassed by a Gothic arch. So here was a fresh revelation of the genius of this race, a fresh demonstration that the depths of the spirituals have not been plumbed nor their beauty entirely exposed. It was all profoundly impressive—not the least the ladies of the choir in their voluminous red gowns.

* * * * *

BUT Mr. Johnson's extraordinary choir is not the only one which has been stirring the music world of late. Here is what the London *Spectator* has had to say about the Hampton Choir, which, like the New York Philharmonic Symphony and the Chicago Symphony, has made a triumphant tour of Europe this spring:

> These Negro choristers stand in four grave rows, the women in white with their hands folded before them, the men in black with hands behind their backs. And they sing, simply. There is no visible effort, no heaving of chests; pure voice rises with miraculous unity from the choir as a whole. If a soloist takes part, it is very unobtrusively to the eye. Their attack is faultless, their precision remarkable, and the degree of polish the choir as a whole attains deserves the highest praise for their conductor, Dr. Dett. If London does not hasten to hear them on Sunday at the Albert Hall, it will lose a rare pleasure.

Robert Nathaniel Dett, who has achieved such remarkable results with the Hampton Choir, like Hall Johnson has studied at a number of American colleges and conservatories of music, something which the Drifter finds extremely encouraging, for he has always feared that if sophisticated white teachers of music laid their hands upon such as these they would spoil them, making them good interpreters neither of classic music nor of their own. But here are two men to rank high in any group of musicians. Like Roland Hayes they are helping to break down the senseless color line that prejudice and ignorance and cant try so hard to keep intact. There was no color line at the stadium the other night. Nor did the white orchestra receive so much applause as did the double rows of men in black and women in red. Which was another reason why the evening was a memorable one for

THE DRIFTER

Correspondence

Schools for Marriage

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The personal narrative called Martyrs to Marriage in a recent issue is of interest, particularly to those of us whose domestic histories could be written almost in the same words.

This woman, whom I shall call Anonymous, says that if life has taught her anything it is that divorce is preferable to unhappy marriage, and so far as that goes most of us would agree. But on my part if there is anything I have learned it is that divorce does not solve the problems on which unhappy marriages are founded. Divorced or not divorced, such parents as Anonymous describes can always contrive to make themselves and their offspring miserable.

Her father and mother lived together and she thinks they should have separated; my parents got a divorce and my brothers and sisters think to this day that they should have stuck it out together for their children's sakes.

Where divorce is resorted to it does not necessarily mean a clean break with a new chance for everybody. This may be true in some cases, but where the custody of the children is divided or where there are financial arrangements to be made between the parents there are ties a plenty to keep the old sores active. We spent some of the time with each parent, and the warfare which had gone on between the elders became a series of guerrilla engagements with the children used as snipers. The person who has never had a like experience cannot imagine the confusion and misery of such a life. While other children were playing Indian we were putting ice caps on mother's head or explaining to father why an extra day was spent with the other branch of the family. And after such racking episodes there was always failure in the lessons next day at school. Certainly, disorganization of a child's personality, ill health, and all the rest can follow just as surely where divorce has taken place as where it has not.

My parents had everything in their favor when they married—health, brains, and sufficient means. But father thought patience was a weakness and not a virtue, and to mother a wild, free spirit was just made to break. Their personal preferences were their gods. Such people are really phenomenal. Charming and gracious outside the home, inside it they engage in Gargantuan warfare over Liliputian objectives. It has been said that the offspring of unhappy marriages do not often succeed. Small wonder, for such children must spend all their forces simply keeping on an even keel.

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The so-called divorce question is not a legal matter; it is social and educational. Knowledge should be available to teach people something of their own natures and how to make them function; to teach them how to live with themselves and with their fellows, especially their husbands and wives; to teach them that forbearance is only common sense and selfishness cruel folly. Surely, living harmoniously with a life partner is a gentle art, and the more it is studied the more we learn. Such an art should be capable of being taught in all its branches, physical, mental, and emotional. I am for marriage schools.

Washington, July 10 L. F. W.

Crime Is Crime

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: After reading the article Newspaper Criminals in Chicago in *The Nation* for July 23, an observation has suggested itself to me which seems particularly pertinent to the crime situation in the United States.

One of the first things which strikes the attention of foreign observers and those of us who, for educational or other reasons, are residing abroad is the sophistical attitude of the press and public toward crime. The Lingle murder is illustrative. The question asked has been: For what good reasons was Lingle shot?—not, By whom was the murder committed? The first duty of the state in cases of murder is to apprehend the murderer; the first duty of the public, to be satisfied that abstract justice has been done. The question was not how good Mr. Lingle was, or was not, before his death, but that a murder having been committed, and the highest law of the state having ipso facto been broken, how most speedily to satisfy the letter of the law.

There never has been a time in the history of civilized governments when the press and people could satisfy themselves, where murder has been concerned, with the conviction that a violent fate had overtaken an alleged evil character. Where such an attitude is adopted a community practicing private law may exist, but there can be no public law. This seems to be the plight of the community of Chicago.

Until the murder of what the American press chooses to call a "racketeer" calls forth public and legal indignation as great as would be called forth by the murder of an honorable citizen, there can be no real safety in our commonwealth. Crime is crime, whoever may be the agent or the victim.

Munich, July 29 Randolph William White

We Don't Doubt It

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: Both the original write-up by the Federated Press of John E. Edgerton's appearance before the summer conference of the Methodist Federation for Social Service and your editorial article Work and Pray on the same subject in the issue of July 9 leave the impression that such "pious stuff" got across with the preachers and laymen present.

As a matter of fact, Mr. Edgerton probably never experienced such an hour of spear-pointed questions and saber-bladed rebuttal in all his life. I am inclined to think that the speaker would rather have faced a group of Communists than the crowd of young preachers who clearly indicated that they are past the stage of being satisfied with any kind of palliative paternalism and will stop at nothing short of the creation of a new industrial system.

Denver, Colo., July 15 A. A. Heist

Japan and the Quota

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: In the issue of *The Nation* of July 9, page 29, in the editorial paragraph on immigration, occur two sentences which are somewhat misleading. Since the same error is made quite widely, I am taking the liberty of calling your attention to the matter. The sentences in question are these:

> Under the Japanese exclusion act of 1924 Japan is allowed 100 visas a year (the minimum quota for any country), whereas if the national-origins quota plan were applied the Japanese quota would be about 200. For six years the United States has bitterly offended the Japanese by this discrimination, and yet in 1929-30 only 16 of the possible 100 Japanese visas were applied for.

The quota of 100 for Japan is not intended for Japanese as such, but only for persons born in Japan who belong to races eligible to citizenship in the United States. The Japanese are *altogether* excluded, except for certain professional classes; the quota is not for Japanese, who are excluded from citizenship in the United States and are therefore altogether excluded under the quotas. The offense is all the greater.

San Diego, Cal., July 12 Constantine Panunzio

Bryan on Public Ownership

To the Editor of The Nation:

Sir: I have just read the criticism by C. Hartley Grattan of the biography of George Harvey, "A Passionate Patriot," by Willis Fletcher. In the last paragraph Mr. Grattan says:

> One or two interesting points about Bryan are also brought out. The most important is that Bryan deliberately inserted the word "ultimately" in his famous Madison Square Garden speech, in 1906, dealing with government ownership of railways ("I have already reached the conclusion that railways . . . must ultimately become public property").

The railroad question was uppermost in the public mind when Bryan returned from Europe and made his speech at Madison Square Garden. Before it was made he was urged by Senator Culberson of Texas, Democratic leader in the Senate, and by Representative John Sharp Williams, minority leader in the House, to ignore any reference to the railroad question in his speech. Bryan insisted that as the leader of his party he must take cognizance of it. The writer sat a few feet away from him on the platform at the Garden and heard every word he said. What he said was this: "If the railroad managers do not run the railroads in the interest of the public rather than in the interest of the stockholders *ultimately* there will be government ownership."

Which is very different from advocating government ownership. Later Bryan was compelled to take cognizance of the matter by the deliberate misrepresentation of his position by the New York *Times* and *World*. In looking over my scrapbook I find this clipping from the *Bulletin* of this city, of which I was the owner and editor. In an open letter to the *World* printed in the *Commoner* Mr. Bryan said:

> The difference between the "immediate" and the "ultimate" in politics is so clear that even the editor of the *World* could see it if he would. Jefferson believed in emancipation as an ultimate solution of the slavery question, but he did not insist upon immediate emancipation. Lincoln also opposed slavery as a system but he did not

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expressly favor immediate emancipation. It is the part of wisdom to look ahead but it is not the part of wisdom to insist upon doing anything before the people are ready for it.

The *Bulletin* repeatedly printed his exact words in answer to his enemies, who persistently misrepresented his position on this question. It takes a long time for the truth to overtake falsehood in cases of this kind.

Washington, July 30 W. J. DWYER

Model for a War Memorial

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: F. Luis Mora, well known for his murals and his portraits of children, has turned to modeling and is showing at the annual exhibition of the Art Association of Kent, Connecticut, a model for a war memorial that sets a new high-water mark for such things. There is nothing bombastic about the composition Mr. Mora has evolved to symbolize a community's grief for its fallen sons; here are no martial trappings, no uniforms, no trumpets, no banners, no sabers, no bayonets, no guns. Rather is there a simple group consisting of the Cross, the figure of Christ, which sits before it, the face rich with compassion, and on either side a shrouded form. A helmet resting on one of these forms gives the only suggestion of war; and by implication it represents war, not as a glorious undertaking, but as a grim thief of treasure, of hope, of life itself.

The idea conveyed is of peace binding up the scars of war, of futile sacrifice being sorrowfully atoned for. Even the wreath on the back of the cross symbolizes mourning no less than victory. Where is the first community that will commission Mr. Mora to execute in heroic bronze this group of statuary now being exhibited in miniature in Kent? It is an opportunity worth seizing.

Waterbury, Conn., August 23 ALLEN B. MACMURPHY

Correction

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In my review of "Lobagola, an African Savage" in your issue of July 23, one sentence, which was miscopied when the review was typed, reads as follows: "Is it not curious that the kings of Gezo and Glelele, who are said to have instituted the battalion of 'amazons' which, if real, must be unique in West Africa, should have had the same names as Dahomean kings?"

The original read: "Is it not curious that the kings of 'amazons' which, if real, must be unique in West Africa outside of Dahomey, should have had the same names as Dahomean kings?"

Madison, Wis., July 30 MELVILLE J. HERSKOVITS

For Readers in New Rochelle

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: I should like to organize a local group of the League for Independent Political Action in Westchester County. *Nation* readers who are interested may communicate with me, 10 Hemingway Avenue, New Rochelle, N. Y., Telephone, Hamilton 4312.

New Rochelle, N. Y., July 31 ALBERT HIRST

Hemingway Bibliography

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: I am preparing a bibliography of Ernest Hemingway, to include books he has written as well as material that has been published in anthologies and periodicals. If any of your readers possess special data regarding Hemingway I shall be pleased to have the opportunity of examining them.

Chittenden, Vt., July 26 VREST ORTON

Letters of Romer Wilson

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: It is proposed to publish a memoir of the late Romer Wilson and to issue a selection of her letters. I shall be grateful if her correspondents will send me, Villa Pauliska, Muralto-Locarno, Switzerland, any letters which they may possess. They will be faithfully copied and returned promptly.

Muralto-Locarno, July 16 EDWARD J. O'BRIEN

Letters of Lucretia Mott

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: I am working on a biography of Lucretia Mott. I should be grateful for copies of letters from her that any of your readers may have or for accounts of personal contacts.

Duvall, Wash., July 30 JENNIE P. BURGESS

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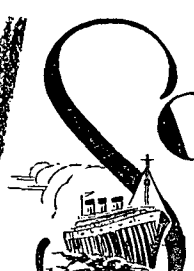

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Books and Films

A Schoolmaster Dies in Italy

In Memoriam M. S. S., Obit 1923

By HORACE GREGORY

Here, in this room, built in the core of Rome,
sparrows are singing against the fall of rain,
even in December, through the pain
of my last naked month. These years and days shall die
within my body and the convolutions of my brain
shall fly
        into the west wind Zephyrus,
spent as the sterile gold of Croesus Maximus,
gone where none shall recall them, nor myself, not even I.

Look at my superscription, see my name
a footnote written on the back doors of time.
I am the past; what I discern, my own:
        See the warm August plains
of broad Wisconsin ripen, turn to snow.
        O race horse Alcazar
and Jersey Lily Langtry glowing white
in bright victorias
        careering down
the Strand, Fifth Avenue, Michigan Boulevard to rest,
an urn of ashes in an old man's mind.

Was I immortal long ago; did I know Lesbia, question
    Cicero,
but mortal now?
        Split the skull of death. I enter him
while sparrows rise from ancient trees
sprung from the gardens of the late Valerius Catullus—
sparrows sing
out music from the Vergil-mad Aegean seas.

Americans Do Not Read

Books: Their Place in a Democracy. By R. L. Duffus. Houghton Mifflin Company. $2.

THE American public, Mr. Duffus tells us, buys 200,000,000 books a year. The average American, in other words, buys just two. Mr. Duffus generously adds those he may borrow or rent, and thinks he may read a possible total of seven books a year. What we actually spend for "general" books, however, is a grand total of not more than $150,000,000 a year. Mr. Duffus goes on to show that the American people, every three or four weeks, spend as much on motion-picture admissions as they spend on books, directly and indirectly, in an entire twelve months. Their annual expenditure on automobile pleasure touring is twenty times that for recreational reading. And so on. He might have added that the American smokes six hundred cigarettes for every book he buys.

Mr. Duffus is very calm about it. "I do not present such figures as an indictment of American taste. It is as foolish to indict a nation for having bad or perverted taste as to indict a region for being too flat." Just why it is foolish to indict a nation for having bad taste is not clear to me. It is not even clear to me why it is foolish to indict a region for being too flat. People are constantly indicting such regions, just as they are constantly indicting the weather. True, they may not be able to do anything about either, but that is no reason why they should pretend to like what they obviously cannot like. People point out, quite justly, that certain weather is abominable. They made such comments even in deeply religious times, when their complaint could only be construed as a direct reflection on the Lord God Jehovah, and I admire their spunk. There is no reason why man should accept even the inevitable.

I do not see why Mr. Duffus, unless he assumes that anything a sufficiently large majority does is self-justified, should have less courage in dealing with a nation's cultural tastes. This is doubly true since, with due respect to his comparison, at least something can be done about this taste. Mr. Duffus should be the first to admit this, for otherwise his present book would have no reason for existence.

The whole purpose of his study, undertaken for the Carnegie Corporation, was to see what could be done to enlarge the reading of "serious, non-technical books." Mr. Duffus's book is informative, it is attractively written and well put together, and within its chosen field rather thorough. But more than one of its conclusions is vitiated by the author's democratic complacency. Mr. Duffus reaches the conclusion, for example, that the relative unimportance of books in American life is "due less to the apathy of the public than to the failure of those who distribute books to devise systems for reaching large numbers of people." I am willing to agree that the publishing business is one of the most inefficient in the country, and that if the publishers as a whole showed more enterprise and acumen a vastly greater number of books could be sold. But it still seems obvious to me that the far more important factor is the public apathy toward literature.

When Mr. Duffus remarks, at one point, that "except for the bare necessities of life, few commodities, under present-day conditions, are *bought*; on the contrary, they are *sold*" he is probably telling the truth but he is also making a damaging admission. He is saying that the average American buys what he buys, not in proportion to the merit of the product, or its value to him, but in proportion to the skill of the advertising or the sales pressure behind it. I go so far with Mr. Duffus as to agree that the publishers should take advantage of this fact to sell as many books as they can. But Mr. Duffus is not satisfied with this. He wants the product itself changed:

> Studies of consumers' interests are being constantly made, at great expense, by advertisers and advertising agencies, and sometimes by magazines and newspapers. Authors and publishers must do the same. It becomes more and more obvious that, except in the case of creative literature, the book must be adjusted to its probable readers, and adjusted on a surer basis of knowledge about those readers than now exists. I am not even sure that creative literature need be excepted. Art is a means of communication as well as of self-expression. Nobody writes books in Chinese for an English-reading public. And if the literary artist takes pains to find out what language his intended audience speaks, he might take pains to find out a few other things about them.

If Mr. Duffus had confined his conclusion to the writing of children's books, textbooks, unpretentious popularizations, and frankly commercial work, one could take no exception to it; but it is only fair to point out to him that first-rate literature is never written by the method he suggests. It is true that art is a means of communication, but it is not true that it is a means of communication with people who are not quite bright. Mr. Duffus can hardly pretend that he wrote

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his book in English, and not in Chinese, because he "took pains to find out" what language his intended audience spoke. He wrote in English because that was his language. It never occurred to him to write in Chinese.

Whether Mr. Duffus knows it or not, his plea is essentially one for diluting and debasing literature. No artist can produce great work if he tries to adapt it to the ignorances and prejudices of an inferior audience. Commercial writers do not need such advice, and creative writers will ignore it. The man who consciously "writes down" nearly always writes badly. His work not only lacks profundity, but what is worse, and what even his intended audience can sense, it lacks sincerity. Clever fellows who attempt to write best-sellers with their tongues in their cheeks sadly learn this. Mr. Harold Bell Wright reaches his millions of readers, not because he consciously adapts himself to the quaint *mores* of those millions, but because he shares those *mores*. "I am always made uneasy," wrote Emerson in his journal, "when the conversation turns in my presence upon popular ignorance and the duty of adapting our writings to the mind of the people. . . . I observe that all those who use this cant most are such as do not rise above mediocrity of understanding."

HENRY HAZLITT

Reversion to Childhood

The Aloe. By Katherine Mansfield. With an Introduction by J. Middleton Murry. Limited Edition. Alfred A. Knopf. $5.

"THE greater part of 'The Aloe,'" writes Mr. Murry in his introduction, "after much reshaping and rewriting, was incorporated into Prelude a year later, in 1917. But 'The Aloe' contains much material that was not used in this way, as readers familiar with Prelude will quickly discover."

Whether viewed as finished writing (and I, for one, consider them not at all inferior to Prelude or At the Bay) or as tentative material, these four sketches of the Burnell family are moving and delightful. For the glimpse of Linda's father and her courting in Australia by Stanley Burnell we cannot be too grateful; as also for the fresh encounter with Katherine Mansfield's prose, as inescapably feminine as Colette's, but how much softer, more tender, hovering—a butterfly style which hardly brushes with its wings the flowers of sentimentality, a style whose breathiness, whose rhythms of light excitement seem to catch something of the quality of schoolgirl conversation, a style so innocent-artful in its nostalgia that it evokes always the vague enchantment of one's own childhood.

"The Aloe" reinforces the impression, derived also from her "Letters," of Katherine Mansfield's continuous striving to reenter, whether by the simple gateway of retrospection or the devious paths of creative writing, the sheltered garden of her childhood. Its most clearly conceived characters (and the ones our hearts remember longest) are the children—Kezia, Lottie, Isabel, Pip, and Rags—but particularly Kezia, the dream-portrait of the little girl Katherine Mansfield never had. Indeed, without pushing the fancy too far, it is possible to view the entire Burnell family either as grown-up children or as adults who, like Katherine herself, spend their lives in a vague escapist drift back into the Utopia of their early years. Stanley Burnell, the energetic, rather Babbitty, athletic young father with his broad streak of sentimental tenderness for Linda—is he much different from the boy Rags? Is he not really an overgrown boy, with all the physical vanity and core of softness peculiar to the adolescent? And Linda herself, sad, sweet, smiling, secretive Linda, whose mind reverts continually from the sharp-edged reality of married life to the gentle contours of her childhood; and her two sisters—Beryl, the bright, vain, dreamy young girl, a little frightened at the imminence of maturity, and Dora, romantic, melancholy, her imagination stuffy with the pink and purple fantasies of girlhood: all exemplify variant forms of child reversion.

The almost ineffable charm of some of her most memorable characters—not merely the Burnell family, but Jonathan Trout and the daughters of the late colonel and Hammond in The Stranger—lies in the fact that they have retained into maturity a quality of childlikeness, one might almost say of "cuteness." The shades of the prison-house have not quite closed about them. And their tragedy—it was the tragedy of their creator—is that their frustrations are out of proportion to their temperaments. These demi-children, whose eyes are disturbed by the harsh light of adult existence, are forced to face adult situations into which they have bewilderedly strayed. It is this confrontation which gives the stories of Katherine Mansfield their stabbingly painful quality. She repeats the theme again and again: she cannot bear to see the young girl emerge into the young lady (recollect Leila in Her First Ball and the pathetic seventeen-year-old in The Young Girl); and it is the symbolic loss of the child Lennie that is really the heart of the unbearable tragedy of Ma Parker.

Critics have speculated much as to the direction Katherine Mansfield's talents might have taken had she lived. Toward the end (if The Fly is to be taken as proof) she was inclining toward a Swiftian bitterness that seemed to indicate a maturer view of the world; but I believe this mood was mainly a function of the development of her illness. If she had recovered and if her sordid economic and domestic worries had lightened, I think she would have retreated gratefully into the world of her youthful recollections, and given us perhaps the most beautiful, idealized pictures of childhood to be found in English. Her letters and her journal are full of nostalgia for her early home; and though she was increasingly conscious of the need to deflect her gifts in the direction of the "serious novel," she never really felt at home among such plans. Always her pen strays back in time; and always, no matter what she writes, it is with children that she is most magically successful.

A word as to this edition of "The Aloe"; it is so chaste and attractive in every other way that one regrets the sickening Victorian flower illustration at the head of each page. The spirits of Katherine Mansfield and of *Godey's Lady's Book* hardly harmonize.

CLIFTON P. FADIMAN

Beyond His Horizons

Seven Horizons. By Charles J. Finger. Doubleday, Doran and Company. $5.

UNDOUBTEDLY, from Mayfair to Patagonia is a very far cry, but even if Mr. Finger's adventures were, by and large, exotic, the inferences he draws from them are commonplace, and the seventh horizon seems to be limited indeed.

> To achieve order in my immediate vicinity [he tells us]: that comes first. To resist invasion: that is second and tremendously important. And last: to assume such obligations as shall inure to the physical and intellectual welfare of my children, to the end that they may become happy warriors fit to engage in the battle of life.

That is Mr. Finger's conclusion, just as it is the primary assumption of every honest commuter who takes the train from the outskirts of Jamaica to the heart of New York and back again twice every day that he may fulfil a destiny not necessarily required of him by the higher urges of his nature. One

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is therefore privileged to inquire why Mr. Finger has made of his extensive wanderings a spiritual quest. All roads, of course, do not lead to Zion. But if platitudes are the end, the means need not be extraordinary after all, and New Jersey and Patagonia may be only reverse sides of the same coin.

Any life may be extraordinary and any life may be commonplace, and Mr. Finger himself forewarns the reader in his preface against assuming that all hobos are Jack Londons under the skin. The chief structural fault of this book is after all not a matter of writing. There is sufficient zest in the telling of these many unusual tales. The fault is the lack of an eighth horizon to which one might give the name perspective. There is a curious disproportion between what Mr. Finger tells and the way he tells it, like nothing so much as a landscape seen through the wrong end of a telescope.

The reader is therefore advised to approach this book with some, if not with considerable, forethought. There are vivid vistas here and there throughout this very curious work. They are smothered, flattened out now and then under the heavy weight of platitudes. It is one thing to be a plain and simple person. It is another thing to trumpet it out as a challenge to the fates.

EUGENE LÖHRKE

A World Infecund?

Population. By Corrado Gini, Shiroshi Nasu, Robert R. Kuczynski, Oliver E. Baker. University of Chicago Press. $3.

IF present-day interest in population growth does not exceed Malthus's most optimistic hopes in quantity, it surely does in variety. So at least one is inclined to conclude from the present volume of Harris Foundation lectures, delivered in 1929 by an Italian sociologist, a Japanese economist, a German statistician, and an American economic geographer.

The Italian Gini demonstrates statistically that in most of the European countries and in the English-speaking world population is practically stationary or in a state of incipient decline. By inference, the Malthusian specter stalks only in Asia and possibly in Italy, Spain, and Slavic Europe. Kuczynski shows that if mankind ever doubles, it will require at least 150 years, and thus proves E. A. Ross's conclusions in "Standing Room Only" to be mere hyperbole.

Gini's main argument, however, is interesting rather than convincing. He believes that the reproductive powers of the populations of the world follow a cyclical movement more or less analogous to that of individuals; that populations, as Spengler has averred of cultures, describe a morphological growth from youth through adulthood to senility; finally, apparently, that biology steers the course of history. "The different rate of increase of the different categories of the population" determines the evolution of nations. This differential birth-rate is the result of a differential cessation of "the urge of genetic instincts" rather than of increased birth control. Temporarily gaps in the sterile classes are filled by recruits from the fecund groups. Gradually the sterile classes become proportionally more numerous, the birth-rate declines, and demographic decay sets in. Political, cultural, economic, and military decay is likewise the result of this change in biological composition. Occasionally such a decline may be checked biologically by the crossbreeding of different racial and subracial stocks. As proof Gini cites the meteoric rise of Japan and alleged current revivals in Italy and Spain.

The implications of this argument are important. If demographic decline is fundamentally biological, it is futile to try to encourage fecundity artificially in the upper classes, or in any class. If crossbreeding accounts for national revival, then existing dikes against international migration, assimilation, and amalgamation must be destroyed. Gini's arguments, however, are vulnerable. Metaphysicians will cavil at his teleological phrasings. Sociologists will deny that "the crossbreeding of whites and Negroes gives unfavorable results." Anthropologists will assert that Japan flourishes merely because she has ended her time-honored policy of isolation. Historians, when they admit periods of national exuberance, ascribe these to marked changes in physical and social environment. Both economists and biologists will contend that social factors account for the decline in the birth-rate. It is to be hoped, nevertheless, that American scientists will examine Gini's theories and consider his figures, some of which seem on their face to indicate a decline in natural fecundity.

J. J. SPENGLER

A Monumental Undertaking

Introduction to the History of Science. Volume I. From Homer to Omar Khayyam. By George Sarton. The Williams and Wilkins Company. $10.

IN a monumental volume of 839 pages George Sarton initiates his "Introduction to the History of Science" with a study of the first twenty centuries. It is the beginning of a gigantic undertaking which the author conceives distributed in three series: first, a purely chronological survey of civilization; second, surveys of different types of civilization; third, a survey of the evolution of the special sciences. Of these the first (of which the present volume is Volume I) would require five or six volumes of the size of the present one to carry it down to the eighteenth century.

Dr. Sarton limits his survey to the development of science; he defines science as systematized positive knowledge, and justifies his exclusive concern with it by the fact that "the acquisition and systematization of positive knowledge is the only human activity which is truly cumulative and progressive." Our saints and artists today are not necessarily greater than those of preceding ages; our men of science are not necessarily more intelligent, but their knowledge is at once more extensive and more accurate. The scope of the "Introduction" is determined by this characteristic of scientific development. In the course of the survey there are few references to political or economic history or to the history of art or religion, since they fall beyond the limits of systematic positive knowledge. On the other hand, throughout the Middle Ages the connection of theology with philosophy and science entitles it to consideration. For similar reasons it is deemed necessary to include music, philology, and what might otherwise be classed as pseudo-sciences—alchemy, astrology, physiognomy, and others.

The survey of this portion of human knowledge is not limited to the developments in Western civilization, but is extended over Asia and Africa as well as Europe. Moslem mathematics, philosophy, and science are treated along with Christian; Hebrew, pagan, Hindu, Persian, Chinese, Japanese contributions to each of the amazing diversity of departments of knowledge are presented step by step. The treatment is chronological, even schematic: the first four chapters span the centuries from Homer to the fifth century B.C., and thereafter a half-century is disposed of in each chapter. The chapter heads take the names of the outstanding figures of each half-century: the first half of the fourth century B.C. is the Time of Plato, the second half the Time of Aristotle; the first half of the third century the Time of Euclid; while the final chapter deals with the second half of the eleventh century, the Time of Omar Khayyam. Chapter by chapter, then, the thread of the narrative is resumed in the many divisions of the sciences

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and over the many divisions of the human race. In the succession of chapters what seems an arbitrary juxtaposition takes on cumulative force. One reads in the sections of a single chapter successively of Hellenistic anatomy, physiology, biology, and medicine; of Hellenistic technology; of Hellenistic, Hebrew, and Chinese historiography. But continuities emerge, lines of development die out, influences cross.

Dr. Sarton's manner of exposition is brief and effective. Even the most famous figures are treated in a few pages. A short biography is given, some characteristic doctrines are summarized in a few sentences, and a detailed but selective bibliography is appended. The bibliographies should be especially useful to the student of the history of science, particularly since the scope of the work carries it into so many fields in which bibliographical information is not readily available; moreover the arrangement suggests connections which might not have appeared from a work of less universal intentions.

The achievement of this volume is so outstanding and its contribution to scholarship so notable that the only appropriate criticism would be of details. But even in the detail of the work the plan has been executed so well that there is little that might be criticized which could not be justified. For example, in the bibliography of Aristotle it would not be difficult to point out omissions, some of them important; but the bibliography had to be selective, and the works on Aristotle from which it was made are almost innumerable. Again, it is at first sight surprising that Bailey's edition of Epicurus does not appear; but Usener, Bignone, and von der Mühl are there, and Bailey adds little to them except a translation. Moreover, no translation of Epicurus is listed, although Diogenes Laertius, from whom the greater part of the fragments are culled, has been translated frequently. Again, in the few places in which Dr. Sarton permits himself a critical estimate he expresses some opinions which might be difficult to justify. Thus, the section of the introductory chapter which treats of scholasticism gives warning in its title, Scholasticism, Its Cause and Its Cure. Dr. Sarton clearly has not separated the theological from the purely logical and philosophical grounds of scholasticism. Fortunately, none of this bias appears in the exposition. The bibliographies, moreover, amazingly complete even here, are submitted to continual revision and addition at Dr. Sarton's hands in the pages of Isis. It is to be hoped that he will be able to issue further volumes of this extraordinary work soon.

RICHARD MCKEON

The Art of Max Weber

Max Weber. By Holger Cahill. New York: Downtown Gallery. $3.50.

ARTISTS are seldom fortunate in their biographers. Generally inarticulate about their own problems, they often fall victim to some ambitious, system-building critic who forthwith proceeds to endow them with ideas they may have never entertained—to explain the artists to themselves, as it were. Max Weber, not inarticulate himself, has been more fortunate. His recent biographer, Holger Cahill, bringing to his task a great admiration for the artist, has made an earnest effort to study the important facts of his life, the formative influences on his art, and that art's salient aspects.

Cahill tells of Weber's childhood in Russia, his early impressions of Russian and Jewish folk art, his emigration to the United States, his study under the stimulating guidance of A. W. Dow, his extensive travels abroad, his meeting with Picasso, Matisse, Rousseau, his first-hand acquaintance with the work of El Greco, Cézanne, the Italian primitives, his return to America, and the slow growth of recognition.

In the course of the narrative Cahill analyzes various phases of modern art, particularly those that in one manner or another affected the work of Weber. Passing then from a general discussion to concrete instances, Cahill examines and characterizes at some length Weber's work according to its subject—still life, figure, landscape. Next he studies the artist's work in its evolution, dividing it into several periods: 1900-1909, the period of research and acquisition of craftsmanship; 1909-12, the period of expression, emotion objectified in plastic terms; 1912-16, the period of construction, problems of spatial and geometric composition; 1916-20, the period of abstraction, visible form as incidental to abstract composition; 1920 to the present, the period of synthesis, reinterpretation of nature according to laws of design. To complete the portrait of the artist, Cahill finally quotes numerous passages from Weber's writings. Over thirty illustrations accompany the text.

From all this excellently organized material there emerges a man and artist almost fictional in the preordained inevitability with which events, ideas, persons appear about and within him at precisely the moment required by the narrative—a rare character with apparently never an error of judgment or taste and always historically on time, so to speak. And we have also a full view of his art, evocative, seeking "the spirit of things," in quest of "eternity" (Weber's favorite word), keeping outside of war and strife and other ills to which the social body is heir in order to achieve, in the words of his biographer, "a revelation of life itself."

LOUIS LOZOWICK

Hindenburg

Hindenburg: The Man and the Legend. By Margaret Goldsmith and Frederick Voigt. William Morrow and Company. $3.50.

The Biography of President von Hindenburg. By Rudolph Weterstetten and A. M. K. Watson. The Macmillan Company. $2.50.

NEITHER of these books is a satisfactory biography of Hindenburg. Margaret Goldsmith and her husband, who end their narrative with Hindenburg's election as President of the Reich, apparently set out to dethrone a Hindenburg of "tradition" or "legend," but they do not make it entirely clear what the misconceptions are that they are combating, and they seem reluctant to express an opinion after presenting, or at least suggesting, both sides of the uncertain case. What interests them particularly, if apportionment of space be a fair criterion, is the controversy as to which of the two men, Ludendorff or Hindenburg, was the dominating military personality of the war; but after going into the question at considerable length, and with about the same degree of thoroughness that the average newspaper correspondent would show, they leave the reader to answer the question for himself. They are hardly more successful in exploding other parts of the "legend" that troubles them. One gathers that Hindenburg was undoubtedly a great commander, but that his abilities have been overrated and that it would be well to use caution in worshiping at his shrine.

The Weterstetten-Watson book, on the other hand, is laudatory. It has the great advantage, for average readers, of giving nearly half its space to the period of Hindenburg's presidency, and of going much more into detail in its treatment of Hindenburg's early years and personal life, but what is written is written prevailingly in praise, and there is a conspicuous absence of detachment or critical appraisal. The chapters on the presidential period, too, while they bring out the really noble traits of Hindenburg's character, are superficial in their treatment of the political situations with which he has had to deal.

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Both books, of course, agree substantially in certain fundamentals, save as the first affects dark colors and the second lightens them. They make clear Hindenburg's rigorous training as a soldier, his virtually complete absorption for long years with military matters, and the absence of brilliant qualities that made his advancement slow. He had no interest in literary culture, and the intrusion of politics and diplomacy into war made him frankly impatient. His life was keyed to devotion to the Kaiser and the Fatherland, and when, with the imperial cause a matter of history, he gave his support to the Reich, he carried into the new relationship the same high sense of duty. The extracts from his presidential speeches and letters which are given in the Weterstetten-Watson volume, many of which have not appeared in American news, show a broadening interest in the social and cultural life of Germany and in the welfare of German youth which helps to explain the disappearance of the fear, notable in England and France, that his election as President would strengthen the old imperial and military tradition. Both books are worth reading, but while the first is better written, the second is more worth while.

WILLIAM MACDONALD

Books in Brief

Briand, Man of Peace. By Valentine Thomson. Covici-Friede. $5.

Madame Thomson, daughter of a French Cabinet minister and for many years an intimate friend of Briand, appears here as a kind of Boswell to her hero. The book is not a formal biography, although it contains a good deal of orderly information about Briand's life and recovers from sources not now easily accessible a number of extracts from his letters and speeches. It is rather a series of sketches of typical episodes in Briand's public career, mixed with observations on his personal habits and tastes, his friendships, and his attitude toward the public and his official associates. The best parts of the book are those in which Madame Thomson recounts Briand's first excursions into politics, his relations with the wage-earners and the Socialists, his connection with the separation laws and the Dreyfus case, and his earlier services as minister and premier. The later chapters, dealing with the war period and Briand's peace propaganda, are relatively slight. In the absence as yet of a more formal biography the volume will serve a useful purpose, all the more useful because its tone, while uniformly friendly, is not unduly eulogistic.

The Chinese Drama. By Kate Buss. Jonathan Cape and Harrison Smith. $2.50.

The Chinese theater, in its repertory, music, and stage conventions, was fixed in the Yuan dynasty, about 1200 A.D. It is a medieval art surviving in our day. Its historical subjects are taken from the remote past; its emotional content is derived from Confucian ethics and tradition, principally the relationship of a son to his parents. The plays themselves are librettos rather than dramas, and rarely rise above mediocrity. The dramatic literature of China is so little held in esteem that well-known scholars writing for the stage hide under pseudonyms. The Chinese theater as a whole has suffered from social ostracism; even the law discriminated against players; and it is only in late years that the popularity of a Mei Lan-fang is winning some respect for his art. Miss Buss has her material in a mass which she has not been able to set in order. Her book, short as it is—being but a hundred pages—is hard to read, and much of it is ill-written. It is valuable chiefly because there is no better, and because it is beautifully illustrated with stage portraits of Mei Lan-fang.

Carl Akeley's Africa. By Mary L. Jobe Akeley. Dodd, Mead and Company. $5.

This is an account of the Akeley-Eastman-Pomeroy expedition of the American Museum of Natural History, begun in January, 1926. It was Carl Akeley's fifth visit to what, in contrast to the usual name, he used to call the "Bright Continent." It was also his last visit—for he died and was buried in its heart. His wife presents his material graphically. Especially interesting is her account of the gorillas:

> Natural histories, encyclopedias, and stories of travel have so long pictured the gorilla walking erect that it is little wonder that this misconception of his mode of locomotion is prevalent. My husband saw no indication that gorillas ever walk other than on all fours. . . . He saw gorillas stand erect only in the brief moment recorded in his motion-picture film when the female and the young gorilla rose to beat their chests. It is hard to imagine that the gorilla's short weak legs could long support his bulky trunk in an upright position.

How to Commit a Murder. By Danny Ahearn. Ives Washburn. $2.50.

The ghost walks so often these days that one tends to look warily at a book like the one under consideration. In this instance, however, the publishers tackle the problem quite frankly. "This book is entirely [Ahearn's]." It was taken down before two witnesses by an expert stenographer from his talk. "Parts of it have been rearranged, parts of it cut . . . but every word is Danny's." The book itself would seem to bear out the statement. It is full of non-sequiturs, inconsistencies, flat contradictions; it is rambling, discursive, and intensely personal. Ahearn is talking from a hair-trigger mind, jumping to conclusions and decisions. There is no evidence of reflection or of attempt to rationalize, synthesize, or harmonize his mass of statement and opinion. The thinking of the hunting and hunted order of man of action is perfectly reproduced. It rings as true as those psychological and pathological studies of wily crooks carried out in the rabbit warrens of certain scientists ring false. A respected gangster is a man who has amazing "guts," who can be as ruthless and remorseless as a wild beast when necessary, and who can think and work fast. Ahearn at twenty-eight has had a long criminal career. He claims to have been tried twenty-two times for major crimes and to have "gotten away with it" twenty. Twice he was tried for murder. And twice he served short sentences. He has tried a number of rackets. In certain sections of every big city the gunman is the aristocrat, the man most feared and most admired. Why do youngsters become gangsters? As well ask why some become big-league ball players. Certainly not because of the shape of their heads.

Schönheit am Mittelmeer. Von Franz Carl Endres. Mit Originalaufnahmen von Paul Hommel. Stuttgart: Verlag Friedrich Bohnenberger.

Considering the heroic size of the 505 large-type pages with 84 full-page illustrations on heavy paper, the author's introductory warning that the book is no Baedeker provokes a smile. What it does aspire to do is to serve the traveler as a reminder of beautiful and important scenes, to prepare the mind of the prospective tourist, and to compensate the homebody with vivid descriptions of natural and man-made beauties. The author is well fitted for the task by his intimate acquaintance with the countries of the Mediterranean and his intense love of nature and art. A comprehensive historical background accompanies all his descriptions, and his awareness of changes wrought by the World War adds a valuable feature. Of the art and cultures of the ancients he might be said to be a nostalgic connoisseur.

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My Tropical Air Castle. By Frank M. Chapman. D. Appleton and Company. $5.

Frank M. Chapman, the ornithologist, is one of those lucky devils who has realized his dreams—or at least one of them. After many attempts to find the ideal place in the tropics for the study of nature, he came upon it on the island of Barro Colorado in the Canal Zone, where the National Research Council has established the Institute for Research in Tropical America, open to accredited scientists. Barro Colorado was once a hilltop; it became an island when the region was flooded in the construction of the Panama Canal. On the island, in a small house of his own, Mr. Chapman was able to study animal life from the windows or screened veranda and by taking walks by day or night in the surrounding forest.

> If you would really see and know a trail [he remarks] enter it without plan or purpose. Let your motto be "Where I am is where I'm going." . . . Here, at least, is one place in the world where speed is at a discount. Therefore walk slowly and stop often. Stopping is the very essence of walking.

Mr. Chapman's book describes his nature studies on the island.

The Tree of Life. An Anthology. Made by Vivian De Sola Pinto and George Neill Wright. Oxford University Press. $3.

The editors of this beautifully printed collection worked in the belief that the essentials of religion, being untouchable either by science or by dogma, lead a kind of immortal existence in the best prose and verse of all the centuries. In this faith they have ransacked literature from Genesis to Shaw, from the Elder Edda to Whitehead, for the best that has been said, Christian or otherwise, about the wholeness of the universe and about the position of man as a spiritual creature in it. Whether or not any special meaning emerges from the miscellany, it makes good reading; and the arrangement of material, suggested undoubtedly by Robert Bridges's "Spirit of Man," is of distinct advantage to the reader.

The Good Estate of Poetry. By Chauncey Brewster Tinker. Little, Brown and Company. $2.50.

Academic criticism at its best. Mr. Tinker examines a number of contemporary literary attitudes against the background of all literary history. This background is fatally large, so that Mr. Tinker fails sometimes to see the little truth we speak; but at other times he is refreshingly wise as he deflates some of our most cherished generalizations.

The Newer Knowledge of Bacteriology and Immunology. By Eighty-two Contributors. Edited by Edwin O. Jordan and I. S. Falk. University of Chicago Press. $10.

In nearly twelve hundred large pages this book presents a summary of progress during the past decade in the most active special subjects comprised under the title. These range from underlying physical chemistry to the innumerable applications of the new knowledge in medicine and in public health. The authors are selected from all parts of the world and write with authority and distinction. Each chapter has its own bibliography and the book has excellent author and subject indexes. It should prove invaluable as a base-line for the research of the next decade and indispensable to anyone with the remotest claim to medical education. It is, indeed, an epic of modern exploration and would have a tremendous popular appeal if it were not for the inevitable and insuperable difficulty of scientific terminology. A glossary is needed but it would have to be encyclopedic. The University of Chicago Press deserves congratulations on a monumental service to research and scholarship.

I defy anyone to put down this book once he has started it. F WRIGHT MOXLEY is a literary find. Red Snow is a gigantic piece of concrete visionary writing, a burning satire --and a high tragedy, packed full of dark prophecies...the passions and fates of men and women under the shadow of extinction. It is ruin itself in terms of moving and symbolic prose. As far as I can see, the book's appeal is limited almost entirely to mothers, fathers, children and unmarried people. We may sell a million copies, but I advise publishing it anyway..

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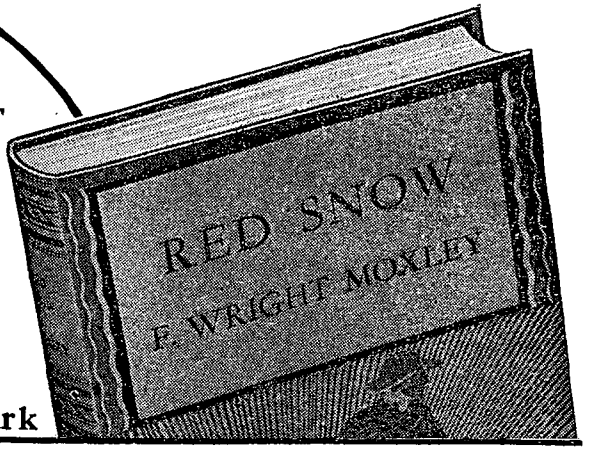

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Films

"Hell's Angels"

So much has been made of the fact that it cost nearly four millions to produce "Hell's Angels" (Gaiety and Criterion), Mr. Howard Hughes's "epic" of war in the air, that I am prompted to state with all haste that the picture is not nearly so bad as the fact referred to might lead one to expect. On the other hand, I am also compelled to admit that it is not so good as it might have been, perhaps at a quarter of its actual cost, had its producer known better where to look for his value. One has the feeling that the picture succeeds mainly in spite of his conscious efforts. For the really exciting scenes in "Hell's Angels" are of two kinds: instances of superb photography, like the view of the Zeppelin speeding its way through the clouds, or the breath-taking scene of a falling airplane, followed by the camera throughout its progress without a single cut; and, secondly, instances of purely spectacular action, like the burning of the Zeppelin or the destruction of the munition depot. In all these scenes the effect produced is truly magnificent. But if the beauty of the photography seems to have been merely incidental to the use of the material, the spectacular thrills mentioned, I suspect, were not quite authentic. And it was realistic authenticity—so we are repeatedly told in the program—that was the declared aim of the producer and that accounted for most of the expenditure of the four millions. The battle scenes in the air between the British and German squadrons are such authentic and costly realism. But interesting as these are in parts, particularly in the long-shot views of the free-for-all "dog fight," they are not very impressive as a whole. The much too numerous close-ups of men and machines with which this sequence is studded are, in spite of their authenticity, as obviously theatrical as any studio close-ups could be. Nor is there visible in this sequence much dramatic and rhythmic organization by way of "montage." One misses the heightened and almost tangible sense of movement that one found in "The Big Parade" or "Potemkin."

So far no mention has been made of the story of the picture. Perhaps it is just as well, for, poor on all accounts, it becomes intolerable because of the persistence with which it thrusts its lurid banalities into the procession of aerial splendors. A really interesting story for a picture like "Hell's Angels" should have stuck to the clouds rather than to the earth. Incidentally, it is a pity that the dramatic possibilities of clouds are made so little use of in this picture. There is a hint at such a dramatic effect in the Zeppelin sequence when the airship suddenly disappears in a cloud. For the rest, we get our clouds merely as a pictorial background. And yet what wonderful dramatis personae they would have made had the hide-and-seek motif of the plot been more consistently developed. Judging the picture by what it has, however, rather than by what it has not, "Hell's Angels," on the whole, is a very creditable performance, with some moments of surpassing beauty.

The new sound version of "Moby Dick" (Hollywood) impresses one as a very tame and conventional treatment of a subject which in the hands of a cinematic genius might have equaled the stupendous quality of Melville's masterpiece. In this case suffice it to say that the overwhelming grandeur of the image of the whale finds no better expression than a few shots of actual whale hunting, supplemented by shots of a wooden model. As for Captain Ahab, John Barrymore's Satanism does not seem very convincing.

ALEXANDER BAKSHY

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Fascism in Finland

THE following article, written by a correspondent for the *New Statesman,* a London weekly, gives an interesting account of the new political alignment in Finland and the forces responsible for the change.

Political anarchy has suddenly made an appearance in an unexpected quarter—in Finland, the country justly admired for a long time as a pioneer of true parliamentary democracy. The reason for so surprising a change has been represented to Europe as a popular reaction against the spread of communism, but this is a calculated and entirely misleading view.

As in all upheavals of the kind, an economic cause is the true reason of the disturbance. The staple of Finnish industry and export, the foundation, in fact, of her economic position, is sawn timber. For the past two years and more Russia, under the harrow of an international financial boycott, has been forced to make use of her more easily realizable assets in order to provide ready money for the financing of her immediate needs. In consequence, she has been throwing her timber freely upon the European market at prices below the actual cost value of the goods. As the quantities have been very large and the quality of Russian wood is superior to that produced in Scandinavia and the Baltic countries, this timber has found a ready sale; but the process has caused so great a fall in the world price that Finland for more than the past eighteen months has been sawing wood at a cost of some £2 per standard more than is received for it by her shippers.

Most Finnish sawmills are being carried by the banks (which have stepped in to prevent national bankruptcy); a large number are already insolvent; and it is safe to say that no single sawmill in Finland is today working at a profit. The damage to this side of Finnish economy is chiefly felt by industrial capital; and at the same time the fall in the world price of butter [the other main article of Finnish export] is equally affecting agriculture, so that grave alarm has now permeated all classes of employers. Socialistic measures for remedying the situation being out of the question, the one solution, in the eyes of the employing class (which includes the close-fisted yeomen-farmers, numerous in the districts bordering the Gulf of Bothnia, in the midst of which is Lappu), is a heavy and permanent reduction of both industrial and rural wages. But to bring that about, it is imperative first to destroy what remains of Finnish trade unionism; and thus new legislation is necessary in order to put all workers' organizations outside the law. This could not be successfully done in the Diet just dissolved (July 20) nor in any subsequent Diet elected on the existing franchise of adult suffrage with proportional representation. The Social Democrats (60) and the so-called Communist members (25) form too large a minority in a Diet of 200 seats to leave any hope of obtaining the two-thirds majority required by the existing Finnish constitution for alterations to a fundamental law. Some sort of coup d'etat, therefore, provides the only way out of the impasse, and this has carefully been prepared for, around Lappu, during the past seven or eight months. Here in the Wasa district the idea first took root, among a community consisting chiefly of narrow-viewed, politically bigoted, culturally ignorant peasant-proprietors—the "Orangedom," in fact, of Finland. In such an atmosphere it was not difficult to arouse enthusiasm for a movement astutely labeled by its leaders "anti-Communist."

Mr. Kossola, the would-be Finnish Mussolini, by proclaiming his movement "national" and "anti-Communist," has brought down two birds with one stone. He has captured the enthusiastic cooperation of the stupider and more unreflecting masses of his fellow-countrymen, and the tacit approval of every Cabinet in Western Europe. He has also, evidently, secured the sympathy—if only silent—of practically the entire European press. By his threat, actually carried out last month, of a "march on Rome," he so intimidated the feeble Agrarian Government of Mr. Kallio that it promptly resigned. At the same time he launched an active campaign of lawless violence. So-called Communist members of the Diet were openly kidnapped in the streets—the police not daring, or not being instructed, to interfere. Local members of the "Communist" Party all over the country were seized and forcibly run across the Russian frontier. Finally, on July 5 two "Communist" members of the parliamentary Grand Committee were carried off during a session of the committee in one of the Parliament buildings and taken away to Wasa in motor cars in broad daylight.

This somewhat indecent breach of law and order rather sobered the more sensible and European-minded sections of society in Helsingfors, and Mr. Swinhufvud, the new Prime Minister (a national hero in 1917, when he was sent to Siberia by the Russian authorities for refusing, as judge, to violate his constitutional oath to the Finnish administration), fearful of the effects of the scandal upon foreign public opinion, then opened negotiations with Mr. Kossola for a return of the prisoners. They were brought back to Helsingfors on July 11, still in custody; and, as described in telegrams to the Swedish press, one of them, Mr. Pekkala, "bore evident signs of maltreatment." No attempt was made to arrest the law-breakers, but instead Mr. Swinhufvud, the arch-constitutionalist, at once imprisoned the two members, having already four days earlier arrested all the other twenty-three "Communist" members of the Diet. The Prime Minister's action was one of barefaced illegality. The only semblance of a charge against the members was that of being members of a Communist party. But they are not in fact either Communists or members of any Communist party. A Communist party has been for some years past an illegal organization in Finland, and anyone proclaiming himself a member of such lays himself open to the charge of high treason. Their party is a very ordinary Left Socialist one, numbering some 50,000 or 60,000 voters. But for the purpose of arousing popular odium, the press and the great middle-class public have combined from that time to describe them as Communists, and by now the name is firmly attached to them.

With the elimination, in prison, of the twenty-five members, the resulting unconstitutional Rump Parliament proceeded to pass several hasty measures, including a stringent State Defense Act. But it failed, even then, to get the requisite majority for the Lappu men's new franchise bill, which destroys the whole of the workers' representation at one stroke, since it limits the parliamentary vote to those paying direct taxes. These bills were rushed through the Rump Diet, before the dissolution on July 20, under the intimidation of 4,500 men from Lappu, who by cars and special trains (on the state railways) had invaded Helsingfors on the critical day, and under the even more potent threat of action by the armed Civic Volunteer Defense Corps (Skyddskar), 125,000 strong, which had been recruited on a political and strictly Conservative basis.

New elections to the Diet are to be held in October. As Mr. Swinhufvud, immediately after the dissolution, issued a

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decree forbidding "Communists" to hold meetings or in any way to organize for electoral purposes, and the Skyddskar may safely be trusted to enforce the provisions of the decree without discriminating too closely between so-called Communists and Social Democrats, it seems pretty certain that the coming Diet will show a sufficiently fascist complexion to deal with inconvenient existing fundamental laws. . . .

Up to the present the workers as a class have shown no sign of reacting to the challenge thus insolently flung at them. They are aware of their own impotence, unarmed as they are, against the Skyddskar, cantoned everywhere in town and country. There are, however, one or two cross-currents that may soon bring about some measure of dissension in the country. The narrow nationalistic element that is now so marked a feature of the Lappu men is viewed with apprehension by the Swedish Finns, who form one-tenth of the population and through their better positions and superior level of education still count for a great deal more than 10 per cent of social and economic, and therefore political, influence. These people fear —and not without reason, for Lappu has been indiscreet in its moments of triumph—that their turn for repression will follow that of the workers. And further, big business . . . is showing signs already of nervousness and jealousy. . . . Industry, after all, requires external peace for its development. The industrial interests, therefore, begin to have misgivings about the possible antics of Nationalists in the region of foreign policy, which, in their case, means Russia!

Contributors to This Issue

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